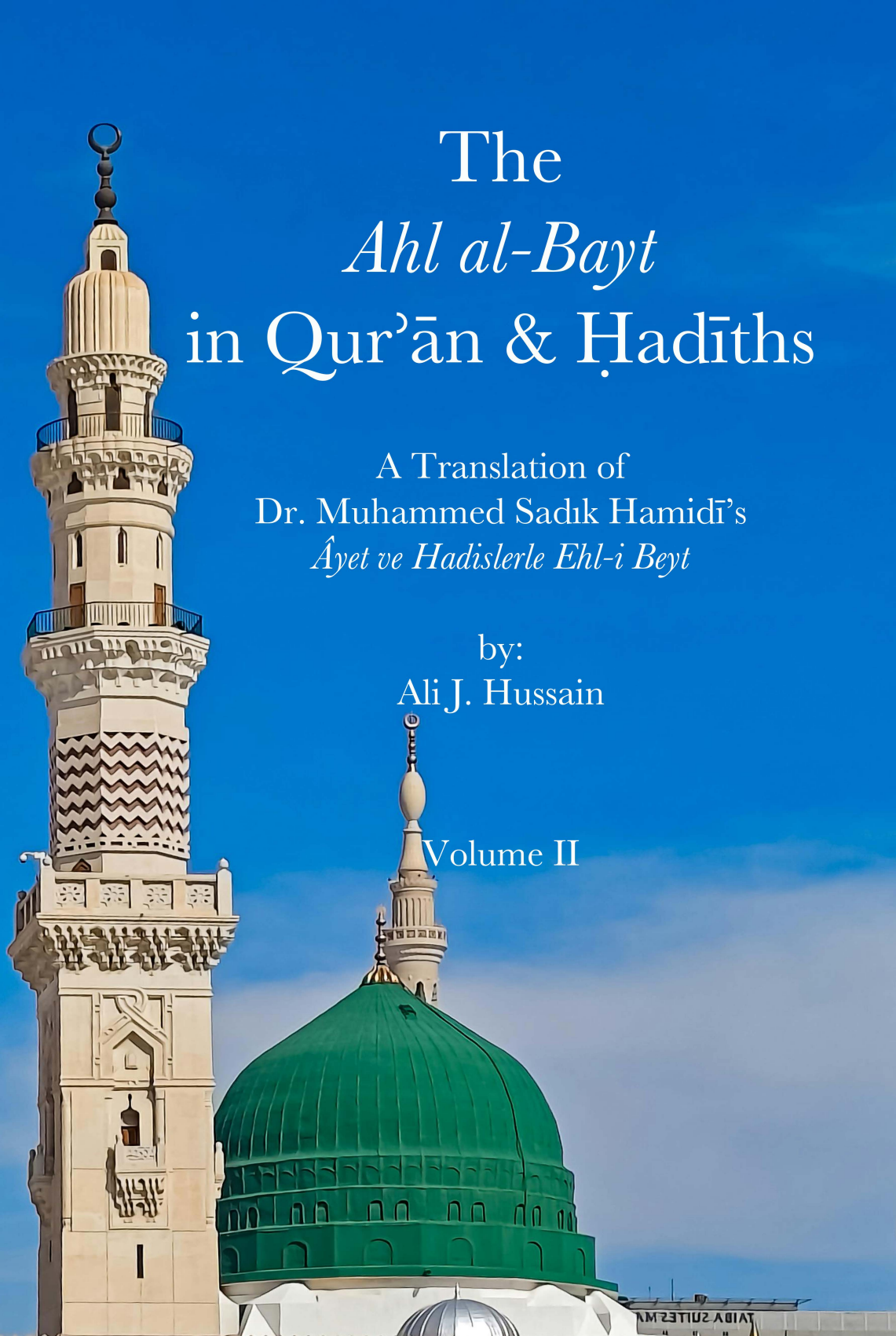

The *Ahl al-Bayt* in Qur'ān & Ḥadīths

A Translation of
Dr. Muhammed Sadık Hamidī's
Âyet ve Hadislerle Ehl-i Beyt

by:
Ali J. Hussain

Volume II

THE
AHL AL-BAYT
IN QUR'ĀN & ḤADĪTHS

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Volume II

SJL Press
Chicago

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

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Printed in the United States

First Edition
Volume Two
v 1.3
SJL Press
Chicago

ISBN 979-8-9871922-5-2
Library of Congress Control Number 2025805663

Cover photo from Public Domain
Original by Khālid Walid
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Design elements by
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Dedicated to

Mahmut Celālettin Ökten
(1882 - 1961),
lovingly known as Celāl Hoca

and to his daughter-in-law,
Meriç Ökten Hanım
(1946 - 2025)

﴿ إِنَّا لِلَّهِ وَإِنَّا إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ ﴾

“Indeed, to God we belong
and indeed, to Him we return.”
(Q. al-Baqarah, 2:156)

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INTRODUCTION TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

This is an English language translation of the original Turkish language work, *Âyet ve Hadislerle Ehl-i Beyt*. Dr. Hamidī is an established ḥadīth scholar of the Shāfiʿī school of thought. Having the good fortune of making the author's acquaintance during a trip to Istanbul, I engaged in scholarly discussion of a particular set of ḥadīths that I was examining in the course of my own research. He brought to my attention that, in his work, he examined thoroughly the narrators in one of the ḥadīth chains that I was researching, and kindly gifted to me a copy of his book. His mastery of the ḥadīth corpus and his scholarly acumen were both immediately evident. He thoroughly scrutinizes every transmitter and presents detailed proofs as evidence for his views. I was impressed by the depth of his research, the thoroughness with which he addressed the issue, and his strict reliance on only Qurʾānic verses and authenticated narrations.

While I do not agree entirely with every one of the author's premises, nor with all of his conclusions, the work as a whole remains an impressive collection of the most significant qurʾānic verses and prophetic ḥadīth reports on this subject. That fact alone makes it worthy of translation. In addition, rather than simply citing a reference, he includes the original texts, sometimes abbreviated relevant portions of lengthy narrations. These original Arabic quotations make the original primary sources available directly to the interested reader. Citations allow for further investigation by those readers wishing to delve even deeper into the source material in the established ḥadīth collections. All of these factors make this work one which I believe to be worthy of being made available to a wider audience of English language readers who, until now, has had no access to a work of this kind.

I have made no changes to the author's content. Any editorial additions or insertions are [within square brackets]. The liberties I have taken for the English edition are those related to formatting. For example, the Turkish original has many very short paragraphs, sometimes even comprised of just one sentence. In this English edition I have combined these short one- or two- sentence paragraphs to approximate more closely what is considered a paragraph in typical English writing. Romanization has been converted from Turkish style to the American standard, that of the United States Library of Congress.

Footnotes maintain their original style with the exception of the original "volume/page number - narration number" format, which has been converted in this English edition to "volume: page number # narration" format, more closely resembling the citation styles of English scholarly works. This avoids the confusion caused by a dash between the page number and narration number, which could easily be misread as a page number range. Other than the above, citations remain in the author's style and do not conform to any specific western standard style. Footnote numbering is maintained as in the original. I have asked the author to add a 'sources' section at the end of this English edition that lists the authors and their works. Rather than repeatedly italicizing terms that are so frequently used as to be incorporated as essential vocabulary in the English discussion, terms such as Ahl al-Bayt, ḥadīth, isnād, tafsīr, fiqh, etc., remain in standard, upright font style, except when being emphasized, highlighted as non-English terms, or in the title of a book or other source. Typical religious honorifics such as "May God be pleased with..." have been avoided in the English translation. Numerous repetitions of "Peace Be Upon Him" and similar phrasings of the typical honorific following mention of the Prophet have been replaced with the condensed Arabic symbol: ﷺ.

I have had the good fortune of being able to review the translation with the author, clarifying some aspects of the original Turkish that were confusing to me, and obtaining his approval before publication. All translation and editing was done to the best of my ability and with the best of intentions. The author is responsible for the original Turkish work, and I am responsible for any flaws in translation or editing of the English edition.

﴿ وَلَا تَزِرُ وَازِرَةٌ وِزْرَ أُخْرَىٰ ﴾

"And no one shall carry the burden of another."
(Q, Al-Fāṭir, 35:18)

- Ali J. Hussain, Chicago, 1446/2025

THE
AHL AL-BAYT
IN QUR'ĀN & ḤADĪTHS

By:

Dr. Muḥammad Ṣādiq al-Ḥāmidī

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Alī's lineage: His father is Abū Ṭālib. Abū Ṭālib's name is ʿAbd Manāf. Abū Ṭālib is the son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. ʿAbd al- Muṭṭalib's name is Shaybah. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib is the son of Hāshim, and Hāshim is the son of ʿAbd Manāf. The lineage of the children of ʿAbd Manāf, the largest clan of the Quraysh, traces back to ʿAdnān. It is universally accepted that ʿAdnān descends from the progeny of the prophet Ismāʿīl (Abraham's son). His lineage merges with that of the Messenger of God ﷺ in ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. Alī is the son of the Messenger of God's ﷺ uncle. Among the twelve sons of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, only ʿAbd Allāh and Abū Ṭālib share the same mother. Their mother is Fāṭimah, the daughter of ʿAmr, the son of ʿĀ'iz, from the Quraysh's Banī Makhzūm clan.[724] Alī's mother, Fāṭimah bint Asad: His mother is Fāṭimah, the daughter of Asad, the son of Hāshim. Her parents are cousins, meaning Asad and ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib are brothers. Fāṭimah was the first woman to give birth to a male from the Ḥāshim clan. She embraced Islam, migrated to Madīnah, and passed away there. The Prophet ﷺ attended her funeral.

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās said: "When his mother Fāṭimah passed away, the Messenger of God ﷺ took off his cloak and placed it over her. When she was laid in the grave, he lay beside her in the grave. When they had covered her with earth, some people said: 'O, Messenger of God, you have done something for her that you have never done for anyone else.' He replied: 'I placed my cloak on her so that she could wear the garments of Paradise. I lay beside her in the grave to ease the pressure of the grave. She was the one who did the most good for me after Abū Ṭālib'."[725]

The children of ʿAlī's father, Abū Ṭālib, and his mother, Fāṭimah: Abū Ṭālib and Fāṭimah had four sons and two daughters: Ṭālib, ʿAqīl, Jaʿfar, and ʿAlī. Their daughters are Fākhitah and Jumānah, who are

[724] Muḥibb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭabarī, *Dhakhāʾir al-ʿuqbá fī manāqib dhawī al-qurbá*, 55 #116.

[725] Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, 7:87 #6935; Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, 3:121; *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥābah*, 1:311 #272.

known by the kunyah Umm Hāni'. All of them share the same father and mother. Each of the sons is ten years older than the next.[726]

His name: In both the *jāhilīyah* [pre-Islam] and Islam, his name is ʿAlī. His kunyah is Abū al-Ḥasan. The Messenger of God ﷺ also gave him the title Ṣiddīq. A ḥadīth in Ibn Mājah's *Sunan* states: Abbād ibn ʿAbd Allāh said: ʿAlī said, "I am ʿAbd Allāh (the servant of God), and I am the brother of the Messenger of God ﷺ. I am the greatest Ṣiddīq. After me, only a liar will claim this title. I prayed before people by seven years."[727]

Abū Dharr said: The Prophet ﷺ said to ʿAlī, the son of Abū Ṭālib: "You are the first to believe in me. On the Day of Judgment, you will be the first to greet (shake hands) with me. You are the greatest Ṣiddīq. You are the Fārūq (the one who distinguishes between truth and falsehood). You are the Yaʿsūb of the believers, and the Yaʿsūb of the disbelievers is wealth."[728] Yaʿsūb refers to the queen bee, the largest and most respected member of the hive. The Arabs used this term to refer to a respected and distinguished individual within their tribe, the leader or head of the tribe.[729] Al-Ṭabarānī reports the same ḥadīth from Abū Dharr and Salmān. Abū Dharr and Salmān said: The Messenger of God ﷺ held his hand and said: (as narrated by Bazzār…)[730] Zayd ibn Wahb said: I heard ʿAlī say while he was on the pulpit: "I am the servant of God, and I am the brother of the Messenger of God ﷺ. No one has said this before me. Whoever says it after me is a liar and a slanderer."[731]

---

[726] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 4:42; Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Nasab Quraysh*, 39–40; ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 2:350.

[727] Ibn Mājah Muḥammad ibn Yazīd, *al-Sunan*, 1:87 #120; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:586 #993; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:409, 7:432 #8398; *Khaṣāʾiṣ ʿAlī*, 24 #7, 85 #67; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 12:65 #32747; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim Aḥmad ibn ʿAmr al-Shaybānī, *al-Āḥād wa-al-mathānī*, 1:191 #186; *al-Sunnah*, 3:330 #1125; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:111 #4584; Abū Bishr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dūlābī, *al-Kuná wa-al-asmāʾ*, 2:904 #1587.

[728] Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 9:342 #3898.

[729] Ibn al-Athīr al-Mubārak ibn Muḥammad al-Jazarī, *al-Nihāyah fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa-al-athar*, 3:234; Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr al-Rāzī, *Mukhtār al-ṣiḥāḥ*, 208; Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Murtaḍá al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, 3:369.

[730] Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 6:84 #6061, 6:296 #6184; Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tahdhīb al-āthār*, 6:43 #2558, 1:300 #506.

[731] Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 12:62 #32742.

Shuʿayb al-Arnawūt, who edited Ibn Mājah's *Sunan*, wrote regarding this ḥadīth: Due to Abbād ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Asadī al-Kūfī, this ḥadīth is weak. Al-Bukhārī said: "His case needs to be examined." ʿUqaylī mentioned him in his book *al-Duʿafāʾ*. ʿAlī ibn al-Madīnī also declared him weak. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal crossed out the statement "I am the greatest Ṣiddīq." The isnād of Ibn Abī ʿĀsim's ḥadīth is also weak due to an unknown narrator. Al-Ḥākim said the ḥadīth is *saḥīḥ*, but Al-Dhahabī disagreed, stating that it is not *saḥīḥ* and is actually false.[732] In our opinion, although this ḥadīth is considered weak in terms of its isnād, when we gather all its chains together, there is a possibility of acceptance. Ḥadīth scholars do not accept weak ḥadīths that express lawful and unlawful matters. However, it is well known that ḥadīth scholars accept weak ḥadīths (as long as they are not very weak) regarding the virtues of a person or an act.

عَنْ أَبِي لَيْلَى قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: « الصِّدِّيقُونَ ثَلاَثَةٌ: حَبِيبٌ النَّجَّارُ مُؤْمِنُ آلِ يَاسِينَ الَّذِي قَالَ:﴿ يَا قَوْمِ اتَّبِعُوا الْمُرْسَلِينَ ﴾ وَحِزْقِيلُ مُؤْمِنُ آلِ فِرْعَوْنَ الَّذِي قَالَ: ﴿ أَتَقْتُلُونَ رَجُلاً أَنْ يَقُولَ رَبِّيَ اللَّهُ ﴾ ، وَعَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ الثَّالِثُ وَهُوَ أَفْضَلُهُمْ . »

Abū Laylá narrated, saying: The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "There are three Ṣiddīqs. (The first is:) 'O, my people, follow these messengers,'[733] said the believer of Āl Yāsīn, Ḥabīb ibn al-Najjār." (The second is:) 'Will you kill a man just for saying, "My Lord is God"?'[734] said Ḥizqīl, the believer of Āl Firʿawn. The third is ʿAlī, the son of Abū Ṭālib. He is the best of them."[735] The Messenger of God ﷺ greeted ʿAlī by saying: "Father of the two fragrant flowers," and said, "Soon, the two pillars/supports will collapse."

---

[732] Ibn Mājah Muḥammad ibn Yazīd, *al-Sunan*, 1:87 #120.

[733] Q, Yāsīn, 36:20.

[734] Q, Ghāfir, 40:28.

[735] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:627 #1072, 2:655 #1117; Abū Nuʿaym, *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥābah*, 1:365 #323, 19:323 #1045.

عَنْ جَابِرِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ ٱلأَنْصَارِيِّ قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ لِعَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ: « سَلاَمٌ عَلَيْكَ أَبَا الرَّيْحَانَتَيْنِ مِنَ الدُّنْيَا. فَعَنْ قَلِيلٍ يَذْهَبُ رُكْنَاكَ. وَاللَّهُ خَلِيفَتِي عَلَيْكَ » . فَلَمَّا قُبِضَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ عَلِيٌّ: هَذَا أَحَدُ الرُّكْنَيْنِ الَّذِي قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. فَلَمَّا مَاتَتْ فَاطِمَةُ قَالَ: هُوَ الرُّكْنُ ٱلآخَرُ الَّذِي قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ

.

Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī said: The Messenger of God ﷺ said to ʿAlī, the son of Abū Ṭālib: "The father of the two *rayḥāns*,[736] peace be upon you. Soon, two foundational supports will be lost. (My protector) God is my successor." When the Messenger of God ﷺ passed away, ʿAlī said: "One of the foundational supports mentioned by the Messenger of God ﷺ is this. When Fāṭimah passed away, this was the other foundational support mentioned by the Messenger of God ﷺ."[737]

ʿAlī's kunyah was Abū al-Ḥasan, but he was also given the kunyah Abū Turāb. The ḥadīth, which is unanimously narrated by al-Bukhārī and Muslim, is as follows:

عَنْ سَهْلِ بْنِ سَعْدٍ قَالَ: اسْتُعْمِلَ عَلَى الْمَدِينَةِ رَجُلٌ مِنْ آلِ مَرْوَانَ. – قَالَ – فَدَعَا سَهْلَ بْنَ سَعْدٍ، فَأَمَرَهُ أَنْ يَشْتِمَ عَلِيًّا– قَالَ:– فَأَبَى سَهْلٌ. فَقَالَ لَهُ: أَمَّا إِذْ أَبَيْتَ فَقُلْ: لَعَنَ اللَّهُ أَبَا التُّرَابِ. فَقَالَ سَهْلٌ: مَا كَانَ لِعَلِيٍّ اسْمٌ أَحَبَّ إِلَيْهِ مِنْ أَبِي التُّرَابِ ، وَإِنْ كَانَ لَيَفْرَحُ إِذَا دُعِيَ بِهَا. فَقَالَ لَهُ: أَخْبِرْنَا عَنْ قِصَّتِهِ لِمَ سُمِّيَ أَبَا تُرَابٍ. قَالَ: « جَاءَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم بَيْتَ فَاطِمَةَ فَلَمْ يَجِدْ عَلِيًّا فِي الْبَيْتِ فَقَالَ: أَيْنَ ابْنُ عَمِّكِ ؟ فَقَالَتْ:كَانَ بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَهُ شَيْءٌ

[736] *Rayḥān* is a fragrant herb. The two *rayḥāns* are Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. The Messenger of God ﷺ used to kiss and smell Ḥasan and Ḥusayn and say, "These two are my *rayḥāns* in this world and the Hereafter."

[737] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:623 #1067; *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥābah*, 1:366 #324; Ibn al-Aʿrābī, *al-Muʃam*, 1:434 #433; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, 3:201.

فَغَاضَبَنِي، فَخَرَجَ فَلَمْ يَقِلْ عِنْدِي. فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم لِإِنْسَانٍ: انْظُرْ أَيْنَ هُوَ؟ فَجَاءَ فَقَالَ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ، هُوَ فِي الْمَسْجِدِ رَاقِدٌ. فَجَاءَهُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم وَهُوَ مُضْطَجِعٌ. قَدْ سَقَطَ رِدَاؤُهُ عَنْ شِقِّهِ، فَأَصَابَهُ تُرَابٌ. فَجَعَلَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم يَمْسَحُهُ عَنْهُ وَيَقُولُ: قُمْ أَبَا التُّرَابِ، قُمْ أَبَا التُّرَابِ ».

Sahl ibn Saʿd said: One of the sons of Marwān became the governor of Madīnah. He summoned Sahl ibn Saʿd and ordered him to speak ill of ʿAlī. Sahl replied, "I will not curse him." The governor said, "If you will not curse him, at least say, 'May Abū Turāb be cursed'." Sahl replied, "Abū Turāb was the name that ʿAlī loved the most. Whenever he was called by this name, he would be pleased." The governor asked, "Why was this name given to him? Tell us the story behind it." Sahl replied: The Messenger of God ﷺ came to Fāṭimah's house and did not find ʿAlī there. He asked, "Where is your cousin?" Fāṭimah replied, "There was a disagreement between us, and he became angry and left the house. He did not sleep here for the midday rest (*qaylūlah*)." The Messenger of God ﷺ then told someone, "Go and see where ʿAlī is." That person came back and said, "O, Messenger of God, he is sleeping in the mosque." The Messenger of God ﷺ went to the mosque and found ʿAlī lying down, his outer cloak off on one side, and his body covered in dust. The Messenger of God ﷺ brushed off the dust from him and said, "O, Abū Turāb, rise! O, Abū Turāb, rise!" [738] Al-Bukhārī narrated this ḥadīth in four different places.

ʿAlī used to say proudly that his mother named him Ḥaydar (Lion). When ʿAlī was born, his mother gave him the name "Asad," which was his father's name. At that time, Abū Ṭālib was on a journey. When he returned home, he did not accept this name and gave him the name ʿAlī instead. The relevant part of the long ḥadīth in *Saḥīḥ Muslim* that addresses this matter is as follows:

[738] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 1:120 #441, 5:23 #3703, 8:55 #6204, 8:77 #6280; Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 7:123 #6382; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:368 #6925; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 5:451 #5746.

قَالَ سلمة بن عمرو: فَلَمَّا قَدِمْنَا خَيْبَرَ. قَالَ: خَرَجَ مَلِكُهُمْ مَرْحَبٌ يَخْطِرُ بِسَيْفِهِ وَيَقُولُ: قَدْ عَلِمَتْ خَيْبَرُ أَنِّي مَرْحَبُ * شَاكِي السِّلاَحِ بَطَلٌ مُجَرَّبُ * إِذَا الْحُرُوبُ أَقْبَلَتْ تَلَهَّبُ. قَالَ: وَبَرَزَ لَهُ عَمِّي عَامِرٌ، فَقَالَ: قَدْ عَلِمَتْ خَيْبَرُ أَنِّي عَامِرٌ * شَاكِي السِّلاَحِ بَطَلٌ مُغَامِرٌ. قَالَ: فَاخْتَلَفَا ضَرْبَتَيْنِ. فَوَقَعَ سَيْفُ مَرْحَبٍ فِي تُرْسِ عَامِرٍ . وَذَهَبَ عَامِرٌ يَسْفُلُ لَهُ. فَرَجَعَ سَيْفُهُ عَلَى نَفْسِهِ، فَقَطَعَ أَكْحَلَهُ. فَكَانَتْ فِيهَا نَفْسُهُ. قَالَ سَلَمَةُ: فَخَرَجْتُ فَإِذَا نَفَرٌ مِنْ أَصْحَابِ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وسلم يَقُولُونَ: بَطَلَ عَمَلُ عَامِرٍ، قَتَلَ نَفْسَهُ. قَالَ: فَأَتَيْتُ النَّبِيَّ صلى الله عليه وسلم وَأَنَا أَبْكِي، فَقُلْتُ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ، بَطَلَ عَمَلُ عَامِرٍ . قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم: مَنْ قَالَ ذَلِكَ. قَالَ: قُلْتُ نَاسٌ مِنْ أَصْحَابِكَ. قَالَ: كَذَبَ مَنْ قَالَ ذَلِكَ. بَلْ لَهُ أَجْرُهُ مَرَّتَيْنِ. ثُمَّ أَرْسَلَنِي إِلَى عَلِيٍّ وَهُوَ أَرْمَدُ. فَقَالَ: « لأُعْطِيَنَّ الرَّايَةَ رَجُلاً يُحِبُّ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ، أَوْ يُحِبُّهُ اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ. قَالَ فَأَتَيْتُ عَلِيًّا فَجِئْتُ بِهِ أَقُودُهُ، وَهُوَ أَرْمَدُ. حَتَّى أَتَيْتُ بِهِ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم. فَبَسَقَ فِي عَيْنَيْهِ فَبَرَأَ، وَأَعْطَاهُ الرَّايَةَ. وَخَرَجَ مَرْحَبٌ فَقَالَ :قَدْ عَلِمَتْ خَيْبَرُ أَنِّي مَرْحَبُ * شَاكِي السِّلاَحِ بَطَلٌ مُجَرَّبُ * إِذَا الْحُرُوبُ أَقْبَلَتْ تَلَهَّبُ.فَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ :أَنَا الَّذِي سَمَّتْنِي أُمِّي حَيْدَرَهْ * كَلَيْثِ غَابَاتٍ كَرِيهِ الْمَنْظَرَهْ * أُوفِيهِمُ بِالصَّاعِ كَيْلَ السَّنْدَرَهْ .قَالَ فَضَرَبَ رَأْسَ مَرْحَبٍ فَقَتَلَهُ، ثُمَّ كَانَ الْفَتْحُ عَلَى يَدَيْهِ. »

Salamah ibn ʿAmr said: When we arrived at Khaybar, the ruler of Khaybar, Marḥab, came out, swung his sword, and threatened, saying: "Khaybar knows that I am Marḥab. A hero who wears his armor and has gained experience. I come with the flames of war." My uncle, ʿĀmir, confronted him in battle and said: "Khaybar knows that I am ʿĀmir. A hero who wears his armor and rushes into adventure." They both raised their swords against each other. Marḥab's sword struck ʿĀmir's shield. ʿĀmir started to strike back, but at that moment, the sword returned to him and cut his aortic artery. ʿĀmir died from this wound. Salamah

continued: I left the house and heard some of the companions of the Prophet ﷺ discussing, saying, "'Āmir's deeds are wasted because he killed himself." Upon hearing this, I wept and immediately went to the Prophet ﷺ. I asked, "O, Messenger of God, has ʿĀmir's deeds been annulled?" The Prophet ﷺ asked, "Who said this?" I replied, "Some of your companions." The Prophet ﷺ said, "The one who said this has lied. In fact, ʿĀmir will receive two rewards." He sent for ʿAlī, whose eyes had become ill. He said, "I will give the banner to someone who loves God and His messenger, or to someone whom God and His messenger love." Because of his illness, I held ʿAlī's hand and brought him to the Prophet ﷺ. The Prophet ﷺ spat on his eyes, and they were immediately healed. He then gave him the banner. Marḥab stepped forward and said: "Khaybar knows that I am Marḥab. I come with the flames of war. A hero who wears his armor and has gained experience." At this, ʿAlī stepped forward and said: "I am the one whom my mother named Ḥaydar (Lion). I am terrifying in appearance, like the lion of the forests. I strike my enemies with great force." ʿAlī struck Marḥab with one blow, killing him. The conquest of Khaybar was accomplished by his hand.[739]

In Makkah, ʿAlī was given the title "Master of the land/leader." ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said: When ʿAlī, the son of Abū Ṭālib, killed ʿAmr ibn ʿAbdiwadd, his sister, ʿAmrah bint ʿAbdiwadd, composed a eulogy for him, saying: "If someone else had killed ʿAmr, I would have wept for him as long as my soul remains. We feel no shame about the one who killed him, Because ʿAlī has long been called 'the master of the land/leader'."[740]

Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī's narration in *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥābah* is as follows: ʿAlī said: The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "I am the city of knowledge, and ʿAlī is its gate." In Makkah, ʿAlī was known as the *sayyid* of the land/the sole ruler. During the Battle of the Trench (Khandaq), when ʿAlī killed ʿAmr ibn ʿAbdiwadd, his sister composed this elegy for him:

"If someone else had killed ʿAmr,
I would have wept for him forever.
We feel no shame about the one who killed him,

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[739] Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 5:189 #4779. This ḥadīth is reported in many ḥadīth collections; we have sufficed with the version of Muslim.

[740] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:33 #4330.

Because in Makkah, he was called 'the *sayyid* of the land'."[741]

The children of ʿAlī: Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī, in his book *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥābah*, provides the following information: When ʿAlī was martyred, he had twenty-nine children, including fourteen sons and fifteen daughters. Among them were Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, and the young child who passed away, Muḥassin [TN: According to the sources of the Ahl al-Bayt, the correct name is Muḥsin. He was named by the Prophet while Fāṭimah was still pregnant, but on the night of the Prophet's death, Fāṭimah suffered blunt force trauma to her abdomen and the fetus aborted.], as well as Zaynab and Umm Kulthūm. Their mother was the daughter of the Messenger of God ﷺ, Fāṭimah. The names of his other children include: Muḥammad al-Akbar (the eldest Muḥammad), ʿAbbās al-Akbar, ʿUbayd Allāh, ʿUmar, Abū Bakr, ʿAbd Allāh, ʿUthmān, Jaʿfar, Muḥammad al-Āṣghar (the younger Muḥammad), ʿAbbās al-Āṣghar, Yaḥyá, Zaynab al-ṣughrá (the younger Zaynab), Umm Kulthūm al-ṣughrá, Ruqayyah al-kubrá, Ruqayyah al-ṣughrá, Umm al-Kirām, Khadījah, Jumānah, Umm Hāniʾ, Maymūnah, Umm Salamah, ʿUmāmah, Nafīsah, and Ramlah.

Muḥammad al-Akbar's mother was Ḥawlah, the daughter of Jaʿfar ibn Qays from the Banū Ḥanīfah tribe. The mothers of Abū Bakr and ʿUbayd Allāh were Laylá, the daughter of Masʿūd ibn Khālid (the daughter of Muʿāwīyah ibn Khālid). The mothers of ʿAbbās al-Akbar, ʿUthmān, Jaʿfar, and ʿAbd Allāh were Umm al-Banīn, the daughter of Ḥizām ibn Khālid. The mothers of ʿUmar and Ruqayyah were Umm Ḥabībah, the daughter of Rabīʿah ibn Buḥayr. The mothers of ʿAbbās al-Āṣghar and Muḥammad al-Āṣghar were concubines. The mother of Yaḥyá (and ʿAwn) was Asmāʾ bint ʿUmays. The mothers of Ḥasan and Ramlah were Umm Saʿīd, the daughter of ʿUrwah ibn Masʿūd al-Thaqafī.

His other children had various mothers. His daughter Jumānah was known by the kunyah Umm Jaʿfar (mother of Jaʿfar). ʿAlī's son Yaḥyá passed away while still young before his father, so he had no descendants. According to Ibn Funduq, ʿAlī ibn Zayd, his descendants

[741] Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī, *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥābah*, 1:372 #330. In this narration, the phrase "the egg of the land" is used. Lexicographical works explain that "the egg of the land" means its master, its sole man. An egg is always singular.

continue only through five of his sons: Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, Muḥammad, ʿUmar, and ʿAbbās.[742] His private administrator (*ḥājib*) was his slave, Kanbar.[743] The inscription on his ring read: *Allāh al-Malik* (God is King).[744]

ʿAlī's characteristics: He was neither tall nor short, but of medium height, closer to short. His eyes were large and jet black. His face was very handsome, shining like the fourteenth night of the moon. His abdomen was large, and he had a belly that was close to being overweight. He had broad shoulders. His body was very flexible, resembling that of a lion, as though the muscles were intertwined. His hands were large. His neck shone like a silver pitcher. Except for the back of his head, his hair had completely fallen out. His beard was very thick. According to some accounts, the thickness of his beard covered the space between his two shoulders. He had a white beard. Although some records mention that he used henna, it is well known that he did not use it. When he walked, he would lean slightly forward. His hands and forearms were very strong. When going to battle, he would run [toward the fighting]. He would always defeat those with whom he wrestled. No one had ever been able to bring him to the ground. He had defeated every person he encountered in battle.[745]

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[742] Ibn Funduq ʿAlī Ibn Zayd al-Bayhaqī, *Lubāb al-ansāb wa-al-alqāb wa-al-aʿqāb*, 22.

[743] A Persian couplet is said regarding Qanbar: *Qadri zar zargar shināsad, qadri gawhar gawharī / Qadri gul bulbul shināsad, qadri Qanbar rā ʿAlī.* Meaning: "The value of gold is known by the goldsmith, the value of a gem by the jeweler; the value of a rose is known by the nightingale, and the value of Qanbar is known by ʿAlī."

[744] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 3:31.

[745] Muḥibb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭabarī, *Dhakhāʾir al-ʿuqbá fī manāqib dhawī al-qurbá*, 57.

ʿAlī's Conversion to Islam and His Age at the Time: Abū al-Aswad Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān reported that he learned: ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Zubayr became Muslims when they were eight years old. Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq said: ʿAlī became a Muslim when he was ten years old. Mujāhid ibn Jubayr said: One of the blessings that God granted to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib was as follows: The Quraysh had fallen into famine. The household of Abū Ṭālib was large (it consisted of four sons, two daughters, himself, and his wife, a total of eight people). The Messenger of God ﷺ said to ʿAbbās: "Your brother Abū Ṭālib's family is large. You can see the situation of the people because of the famine. Let us go and help lighten their burden." ʿAbbās agreed with this suggestion. Together, they went to Abū Ṭālib. They said: "We wish to lighten the burden of your family until this famine passes." Abū Ṭālib replied: "Leave me with ʿAqīl, take whoever you wish." The Messenger of God ﷺ took ʿAlī, and ʿAbbās took Jaʿfar. Until the time of Prophethood came, ʿAlī remained with the Prophet ﷺ. ʿAlī followed him, believed in him, and confirmed him. Jaʿfar stayed with ʿAbbās.[746]

The scholar of *sīrah* Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq said: The first man to believe in the Messenger of God ﷺ, to confirm the Prophethood granted to him by God, and to pray with him was ʿAlī, the son of Abū Ṭālib. He was ten years old on that day. Again, Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq said: Some scholars mentioned: When the time for prayer arrived, the Messenger of God ﷺ would go to the secluded areas of Makkah. ʿAlī, the son of Abū Ṭālib, would secretly go with him, away from his father, uncles, and others. There, they would pray and return home by evening. While this continued, one day, Abū Ṭālib saw them praying. He asked the Messenger of God ﷺ: "O, son of my brother, what is this religion you have adopted?" The Messenger of God ﷺ replied: "O, my uncle, this is the religion of God, the religion of His angels, the religion of His prophets, the religion of our father Ibrāhīm. God has sent me as a prophet for this religion. O, my uncle, I will invite you to guidance and

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[746] Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubūwah*, 2:161; ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyah*, 1:228; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Suhaylī, *al-Rawḍ al-unūf*, 3:7; Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudá wa-al-rashād*, 2:301; Muḥibb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭabarī, *Dhakhāʾir al-ʿuqbá fī manāqib dhawī al-qurbá*, 58.

give you advice. You have the greatest right to answer my call and help me." Abū Ṭālib replied: "O, son of my brother, I cannot depart from the religion of my forefathers and what they practiced. But I swear by God, as long as I am alive, nothing will come to you that you dislike."[747]Abū ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-Barr reported from narrations of Salmān, Abū Dharr, Miqdād, Ḥabbāb, Jābir, Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, and Zayd ibn Arqam that the first Muslim was ʿAlī. This is also the view of Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq. Similarly, this is the opinion of Muḥammad ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī. However, he added: "After Khadījah, the first Muslim was ʿAlī." It is widely agreed that the first Muslim was Khadījah.[748]

The Narrations Regarding This Matter:

عَنْ أَبِي رَافِعٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ قَالَ: « أَوَّلُ مَنْ أَسْلَمَ مِنَ الرِّجَالِ عَلِيٌّ. وَأَوَّلُ مَنْ أَسْلَمَ مِنَ النِّسَاءِ خَدِيجَةُ . »

Abū Rāfiʿ said: "The first to become Muslim among men was ʿAlī, and among women, it was Khadījah."[749]

عَنْ زَيْدِ بْنِ أَرْقَمَ قَالَ: « أَوَّلُ مَنْ أَسْلَمَ مَعَ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ . »

Zayd ibn ʿArqam said: "The first to become Muslim alongside the Messenger of God ﷺ was ʿAlī, the son of Abū Ṭālib." In another report, it is said: "The first to perform prayer with the Messenger of God ﷺ was ʿAlī." [750]

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[747] Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq, *al-Siyar wa-al-maghāzī*, 1:137; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyah*, 1:228, 229.

[748] Ibn Sayyid al-Nās Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *ʿUyūn al-athar fī funūn al-maghāzī wa-al-shamāʾil wa-al-siyar*, 1:111.

[749] Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 9:322 #3872.

[750] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 4:368 #19281; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:589 #997; ʿAlī Ibn Jaʿd, *al-Musnad*, 87 #491; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:306 #8081, 7:407 #8334, 7:408 #8335; ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, 11:227 #20392; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 14:313 #37749; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:136 #4663, 3:465 #5963; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*,

The ḥadīth narrated by al-Tirmidhī on the authority of Zayd ibn ʿArqam is as follows:

عَنْ أَبِي حَمْزَةَ رَجُلٌ مِنَ الأَنْصَارِ قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ زَيْدَ بْنَ أَرْقَمَ يَقُولُ: « أَوَّلُ مَنْ أَسْلَمَ عَلِيٌّ. قَالَ عَمْرُو بْنُ مُرَّةَ فَذَكَرْتُ ذَلِكَ لِإِبْرَاهِيمَ النَّخَعِيِّ فَأَنْكَرَهُ وَقَالَ: أَوَّلُ مَنْ أَسْلَمَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ الصِّدِّيقُ.» قَالَ أَبُو عِيسَى هَذَا حَدِيثٌ حَسَنٌ صَحِيحٌ. وَأَبُو حَمْزَةَ اسْمُهُ طَلْحَةُ بْنُ زَيْدٍ.

ʿAmr ibn Murrah said: A man from the Anṣār named Abū Ḥamzah narrated the following: I heard Zayd ibn ʿArqam say, "The first to become Muslim was ʿAlī." ʿAmr ibn Murrah said: I asked Ibrāhīm al-Nukhaʿī about this, but he did not accept it. He said, "The first to become Muslim was Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq."[751]

While commenting on this in his *Tuhfat al-aḥwadhī bi-sharḥ jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī*, al-Mubārakfūrī wrote the following regarding the chapter titled 'The First to Perform Prayer:' "The meaning of this is that the first to become Muslim among the children was ʿAlī, the son of Abū Ṭālib." In the narration of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal from Zayd ibn ʿArqam: "The first to become Muslim with the Messenger of God ﷺ was ʿAlī, the son of Abū Ṭālib."[752] (ʿAmr ibn Murrah) al-Jumalī, al-Murādī. "The first to perform prayer was ʿAlī." In another narration of Aḥmad from Zayd ibn ʿArqam: "The first to become Muslim with the Messenger of God ﷺ was ʿAlī, the son of Abū Ṭālib." In another narration of Aḥmad: "The first to perform prayer with the Messenger of God ﷺ was ʿAlī." As for the statement, "I asked Ibrāhīm al-Nukhaʿī, but he did not accept it and said: The first to become Muslim was Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq," al-Mubārakfūrī commented: "There is no need to reject this. Abū Bakr was the first among men, and ʿAlī was the first among children to become Muslim." (The name of Abū Ḥamzah is Ṭalḥah ibn Yazīd.) Although in the Aḥmadī recension and in some manuscripts his name is recorded as

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6:340 #12164; *Maʿrifat al-sunan wa-al-āthār*, 9:94 #12476; Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq, *al-Siyar wa-al-maghāzī*, 2:118 #173; Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʾ*, 12:36; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 5:105 #8391; *Khaṣāʾiṣ ʿAlī*, 21 #1, 2.

751 Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 13:341 #4100.

752 Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Mubārakfūrī, *Tuḥfat al-aḥwadhī*, 10:163 #3734.

Ṭalḥah ibn Zayd, this is incorrect. There is no transmitter in al-Tirmidhī's *Jāmiʿ* by the name of Ṭalḥah ibn Zayd.[753]

The view of al-Shawkānī in *Nayl al-awṭār*: ʿUrwah narrated that ʿAlī became Muslim at the age of eight. This was transmitted by al-Bukhārī in his *Tārīkh*. Also, Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad narrated from his father Muḥammad that ʿAlī was killed at the age of fifty-eight. Al-Shawkānī said: "This indicates that he became Muslim while still a child, for he accepted Islam in the early years of the prophetic mission." It has been narrated from ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās, who said: "After Khadījah, the first to become Muslim was ʿAlī." Aḥmad transmitted this. In another wording: "The first to perform prayer was ʿAlī." This was narrated by al-Tirmidhī. ʿAmr ibn Murrah said: A man from the Anṣār named Abū Ḥamzah narrated the following: I heard Zayd ibn ʿArqam say, "The first to become Muslim was ʿAlī." ʿAmr ibn Murrah said: I asked Ibrāhīm al-Nukhaʿī about this, and he said, "The first to become Muslim was Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq." This ḥadīth was narrated by Aḥmad and al-Tirmidhī, both of whom said it is *ṣaḥīḥ* (authentic). However, the statement of Ibrāhīm al-Nukhaʿī is *mursal* (a disconnected report). It is not valid to oppose it to the reports of Zayd ibn ʿArqam and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās. Al-Tirmidhī also narrated from Anas ibn Mālik: "The Messenger of God ﷺ was sent as a prophet on a Monday, and ʿAlī performed prayer on Tuesday." The best conclusion to be drawn from the various reports is the following: The first to become Muslim among children was ʿAlī. The first among men was Abū Bakr. The first among women was Khadījah.[754]

"After Khadījah, the first to perform the prayer was ʿAlī."

عَنْ أَنَسِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ قَالَ: « بُعِثَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم يَوْمَ الاِثْنَيْنِ ، وَصَلَّى عَلِيٌّ يَوْمَ الثُّلاَثَاءِ. »

Anas ibn Mālik said: "The Prophet ﷺ was commissioned as a prophet on Monday, and ʿAlī performed the prayer on Tuesday."[755]

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753 Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Mubārakfūrī, *Tuḥfat al-aḥwadhī*, 10:164 #3735.

754 Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Shawkānī, *Nayl al-awṭār*, 7:238 #3229, #3230, #3231.

755 Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 13:335 #4094.

حَبَّةَ الْعُرَنِيِّ قَالَ:سَمِعْتُ عَلِيًّا، يَقُولُ:« أَنَا أَوَّلُ مَنْ صَلَّى مَعَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. »

Ḥabbah al-ʿUranī said: "I heard ʿAlī saying: 'The first to pray with the Messenger of God ﷺ was I'." [756]

The ḥadīth of Abū Ḥamzah:

سَمِعْتُ أَبَا حَمْزَةَ، عَنْ زَيْدِ بْنِ أَرْقَمَ، قَالَ: « أَوَّلُ مَنْ صَلَّى مَعَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَلِيٌّ. »

Abū Ḥamzah said: "I heard Zayd ibn Arqam saying: 'The first to become Muslim was 'Alī'." [757]

عَنِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ قَالَ: « أَوَّلُ مَنْ صَلَّى مَعَ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بَعْدَ خَدِيجَةَ عَلِيٌّ. وَقَالَ مَرَّةً: « أَسْلَمَ. »

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās said: "The first to perform the prayer was ʿAlī." On another occasion, he said: "The first to become Muslim was ʿAlī."

Tirmidhī said: "The scholars have disagreed on this matter. Some said: 'The first to become Muslim was Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq.' Others said: 'The first to become Muslim was ʿAlī.' Some scholars also said: 'The first to become Muslim among the men was Abū Bakr, and when ʿAlī became Muslim, he was still just an eight-year-old child.' The first to become Muslim among the women was Khadījah." [758]

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[756] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 2:377 #1192; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:590 #999; Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī, *al-Musnad*, 1:147 #173; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:407 #8332; ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaybah, *al-Muṣannaf fī al-aḥādīth wa-al-āthār*, 7:13 #33877.

[757] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 32:35 #19284, 32:58 #19303; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:609 #1040; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:306 #8081; *Khaṣāʾiṣ ʿAlī*, 21 #1, 2; Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī, *al-Musnad*, 2:61 #713; Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī, *al-Sharīʿah*, 4:1796 #1251; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 5:176 #5002; Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 6:339 #12158.

[758] Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 6:91 #3734; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 5:475 #3542; Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī, *al-Musnad*, 4:470 #2876.

The narration of al-Ṭabarānī is as follows:

عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بن عُبَيْدِ اللَّهِ بن أَبِي رَافِعٍ ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ ، عَنْ جَدِّهِ ، قَالَ: « صَلَّى النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ غَدَاةَ الاثْنَيْنِ ، وَصَلَّتْ خَدِيجَةُ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهَا يَوْمَ الاثْنَيْنِ مِنْ آخِرِ النَّهَارِ. وَصَلَّى عَلِيٌّ يَوْمَ الثُّلاثَاءِ. فَمَكَثَ عَلِيٌّ يُصَلِّي مُسْتَخْفِيًا سَبْعَ سِنِينَ، وَأَشْهُرًا قَبْلَ أَنَ يُصَلِّيَ أَحَدٌ .»

Muḥammad ibn ʿUbayd Allāh narrated from his father, who narrated from his grandfather, Abū Rāfiʿ. Abū Rāfiʿ said: "The Messenger of God ﷺ prayed the morning prayer on Monday. Khadījah prayed at the end of Monday. ʿAlī prayed the next day."[759]

عَنْ عَبْدِ اللهِ بْنِ بُرَيْدَةَ. عَنْ أَبِيهِ قَالَ: انْطَلَقَ أَبُو ذَرٍّ، وَنُعَيْمُ ابْنُ عَمِّ أَبِي ذَرٍّ ، وَأَنَا مَعَهُمْ نَطْلُبُ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. وَهُوَ بِالْجَبَلِ مُكْتَتِمٌ. فَقَالَ أَبُو ذَرٍّ: يَا مُحَمَّدُ، آتَيْنَاكَ نَسْمَعُ مَا تَقُولُ، وَإِلَى مَا تَدْعُو. فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: « أَقُولُ: لاَ إِلَهَ إِلاَّ اللَّهُ ، وَإِنِّي رَسُولُ اللهِ . » فَآمَنَ بِهِ أَبُو ذَرٍّ، وَصَاحِبُهُ، وَآمَنْتُ بِهِ. وَكَانَ عَلِيٌّ فِي حَاجَةٍ لِرَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَرْسَلَهُ فِيهَا. وَأُوحِيَ إِلَى رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَوْمَ الِاثْنَيْنِ ، وَصَلَّى عَلِيٌّ يَوْمَ الثُّلاَثَاءِ. صَحِيحُ الإِسْنَادِ ، وَلَمْ يُخَرِّجَاهُ .

The narration in Ḥākim's *al-Mustadrak* is more detailed: ʿAbd Allāh ibn Buraydah narrated from his father, who said: "Abū Dharr and Abū Dharr's cousin, Nuʿaym, and I were with them. The three of us went to meet the Messenger of God ﷺ. He was hiding in the mountains. Abū Dharr said, 'O, Muḥammad, we have come to learn what you are saying and what you are inviting to.' The Messenger of God ﷺ said, 'I am saying that there is no god but God, and that I am the Messenger of God.' Abū Dharr and his companion believed. I also believed. The Messenger of God ﷺ had sent ʿAlī on an errand. The revelation came to the Messenger of God ﷺ on Monday. ʿAlī prayed on Tuesday."[760] In

[759] Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 1:409 #945.

[760] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:112 #4586.

Ḥākim's *al-Mustadrak*, the narration from Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ about the first Muslim and the first to pray being ʿAlī is as follows: Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ narrated: "The first Muslim and the first to pray was ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."

عَنْ قَيْسِ بْنِ أَبِي حَازِمٍ قَالَ: كُنْتُ بِالْمَدِينَةِ. فَبَيْنَا أَنَا أَطُوفُ فِي السُّوقِ إِذْ بَلَغْتُ أَحْجَارَ الزَّيْتِ، فَرَأَيْتُ قَوْمًا مُجْتَمِعِينَ عَلَى فَارِسٍ قَدْ رَكِبَ دَابَّةً، وَهُوَ يَشْتِمُ عَلِيَّ بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، وَالنَّاسُ وُقُوفٌ حَوَالَيْهِ. إِذْ أَقْبَلَ سَعْدُ بْنُ أَبِي وَقَّاصٍ فَوَقَفَ عَلَيْهِمْ، فَقَالَ: «مَا هَذَا» ؟ فَقَالُوا: رَجُلُ يَشْتِمُ عَلِيَّ بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ. فَتَقَدَّمَ سَعْدٌ، فَأَفْرَجُوا لَهُ حَتَّى وَقَفَ عَلَيْهِ فَقَالَ: «يَا هَذَا، عَلَامَ تَشْتُمُ عَلِيَّ بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ؟ أَلَمْ يَكُنْ أَوَّلَ مَنْ أَسْلَمَ؟ أَلَمْ يَكُنْ أَوَّلَ مَنْ صَلَّى مَعَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ؟ أَلَمْ يَكُنْ أَزْهَدَ النَّاسِ؟ أَلَمْ يَكُنْ أَعْلَمَ النَّاسِ؟» وَذَكَرَ حَتَّى قَالَ: «أَلَمْ يَكُنْ خَتَنَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَلَى ابْنَتِهِ؟ أَلَمْ يَكُنْ صَاحِبَ رَايَةِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فِي غَزَوَاتِهِ؟» ثُمَّ اسْتَقْبَلَ الْقِبْلَةَ وَرَفَعَ يَدَيْهِ، وَقَالَ: «اللَّهُمَّ إِنَّ هَذَا يَشْتِمُ وَلِيًّا مِنْ أَوْلِيَائِكَ، فَلَا تُفَرِّقْ هَذَا الْجَمْعَ حَتَّى تُرِيَهُمْ قُدْرَتَكَ» . قَالَ قَيْسٌ: فَوَاللَّهِ مَا تَفَرَّقْنَا حَتَّى سَاخَتْ بِهِ دَابَّتُهُ فَرَمَتْهُ عَلَى هَامَتِهِ فِي تِلْكَ الْأَحْجَارِ، فَانْفَلَقَ دِمَاغُهُ وَمَاتَ. هَذَا حَدِيثٌ صَحِيحٌ عَلَى شَرْطِ الشَّيْخَيْنِ، وَلَمْ يُخَرِّجَاهُ.

Qays ibn Abī Ḥāzim narrated: "I was in Madīnah, walking through the marketplace, and I reached a place known as the *zayt* stones.[761] I saw a group of people gathered around someone who was cursing ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. At that moment, Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ came out. He stood among the crowd and asked, 'What is going on here?' They replied, 'A

[761] *Aḥjār al-zayt* is a location in Madīnah. It is a volcanic and rocky area. The stones there are glossy and black like volcanic rock, resembling olive oil-coated stones, which is why they are called "olive stones." The Messenger of God ﷺ used to supplicate for rain near these stones. In Arabic, the word for petroleum is *naft*, and liquid oil is called *zayt*. See: *Mirqāt al-mafātīḥ sharḥ mishkāt al-maṣābīḥ*, 3:1109; *Tuḥfat al-aḥwadhī*, 3:107.

man is cursing ʿAlī.' Saʿd approached and made way through the crowd. He came up to the man and said: 'O, man, why are you cursing the son of Abī Ṭālib? Was he not the first to become Muslim? Was he not the first to pray with the Messenger of God ﷺ? Was he not the most ascetic of people? Was he not the most knowledgeable? After mentioning many other virtues, he continued: 'Did he not marry the daughter of the Messenger of God ﷺ? Did he not become the son-in-law of the Prophet? Was he not the one who carried the banner in the battles of the Messenger of God ﷺ?' Then Saʿd turned toward the *qiblah*, raised his hands, and said: 'O, God, this man is cursing one of Your *awliyāʾ* (friends). Do not disperse this crowd without showing them Your power!' Qays said: 'By God, before we dispersed, the man's horse stumbled, and he fell on the *zayt* stones, striking his head, and his brain shattered. He died immediately.' Ḥākim said: "This ḥadīth is authentic according to the criteria of the two Shaykhs (Bukhārī and Muslim)." Dhahabī also affirmed: "It is in accordance with the conditions of Bukhārī and Muslim." [762]

عَنِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ قَالَ: لِعَلِيٍّ أَرْبَعُ خِصَالٍ لَيْسَتْ لأَحَدٍ غَيْرُهُ: هُوَ أَوَّلُ عَرَبِيٍّ وَعَجَمِيٍّ صَلَّى مَعَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. وَهُوَ الَّذِي كَانَ لِوَاؤُهُ مَعَهُ فِي كُلِّ زَحْفٍ. وَهُوَ الَّذِي صَبَرَ مَعَهُ يَوْمَ فَرَّ عَنْهُ غَيْرُهُ. وَهُوَ الَّذِي غَسَّلَهُ وَأَدْخَلَهُ قَبْرَهُ.

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās said: "There are four characteristics that are unique to ʿAlī, which no one else possesses. He was the first, both among Arabs and non-Arabs, to pray with the Messenger of God ﷺ. He was the one who carried the banner in every battle. In the Battle of Ḥunayn, when everyone else fled and was defeated, he alone remained with the Messenger of God ﷺ, endured, and did not run away. [When the Prophet died,] he was the one who washed the body of the Messenger of God ﷺ and placed him in the grave." [763]

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[762] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:571 #6121.

[763] Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd al-Barr al-Namarī, *al-Istīʿāb fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb*, 3:1090.

Some say the first Muslim was Abū Bakr:

عَنْ أَبِي سَعِيدٍ قَالَ: قَالَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ: أَلَسْتُ أَحَقَّ النَّاسِ بِهَا ؟ أَلَسْتُ أَوَّلَ مَنْ أَسْلَمَ ؟ أَلَسْتُ صَاحِبَ كَذَا، أَلَسْتُ صَاحِبَ كَذَا ؟.

Abū Saʿīd said: Abū Bakr said: "Am I not more deserving than anyone else to be the caliph? Was I not the first to embrace Islam? Am I not like this? Am I not like that?"[764]

عَنِ ابْنِ سِيرِينَ قَالَ: أَوَّلُ مَنْ أَسْلَمَ مِنَ الرِّجَالِ أَبُو بَكْرٍ، وَأَوَّلُ مَنْ أَسْلَمَ مِنَ النِّسَاءِ خَدِيجَةُ.

Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn said: "The first Muslim among men was Abū Bakr, and the first among women was Khadījah."[765] The question of whether the first Muslim was Abū Bakr or ʿAlī, as can be understood from various narrations, is a matter of dispute. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī in *Fath al-bārī* also states: "The consensus of the majority is that the first Muslim among men was Abū Bakr."[766] Shams al-Dīn al-Safīrī, in his commentary on *Saḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, after narrating different opinions, reports that Abū al-Raḥmān al-ʿIrāqī said: "The correct view should be stated as follows: The first Muslim among men was Abū Bakr, among women was Khadījah, among children was ʿAlī, among slaves was Bilāl, and among freed slaves was Zayd ibn Ḥārithah." [767]

The evaluation of these narrations reveals the reflection of the dispute between Sunnī and Shīʿī perspectives. In our opinion, such debates are unnecessary. All of these individuals are great figures, companions of the Messenger of God ﷺ and his close relatives. According to Sunnī Islam, virtue is not necessarily based on the order of accepting Islam. For example, ʿUmar was the fortieth Muslim, but he is considered more virtuous than many companions who accepted Islam before him.

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764 Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 6:52 #3667; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mubārakfūrī, *Tuḥfat al-aḥwadhī sharḥ al-sunan al-Tirmidhī*, 10:104.

765 Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 1:227 #272.

766 Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fatḥ al-bārī sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 7:170.

767 Shams al-Dīn al-Safīrī, *Sharḥ al-Bukhārī*, 3:35.

As can be understood from these narrations, ʿAlī accepted Islam before Abū Bakr. He himself stated this and mentioned it to the companions. Those who claim that Abū Bakr was the first to accept Islam are from the Followers (the generation after the Companions). Some also argue that ʿAlī's Islam is invalid because he was still a child at the time, which is an unfounded and flawed opinion. The ruling that a person becomes accountable after reaching puberty was established in Madīnah, after the hijrah.

Based on our research and the narrations we have examined, we conclude the following: First: The first believer and the first Muslim is Khadījah. After her, the second believer is her cousin, Waraqah ibn Nawfal. This is because the command to pronounce the *shahādah* (testimony of faith) had not yet been given. When the first revelation came, Waraqah confirmed the Prophethood of the Messenger of God ﷺ and declared that the angel who came to him was the same one who came to Moses. Therefore, Waraqah is the second believer. Second: There is a point that is not frequently discussed in the books. If Khadījah is the first Muslim, why has no one mentioned that her children, born before her marriage to the Messenger of God ﷺ and her children from him, became Muslims after her? Before marrying the Prophet, Khadījah had two sons and one daughter from her previous marriages. These children remained in the household with Khadījah and did not separate. Khadījah, along with the four daughters she bore from the Prophet and who survived, was the mother of seven children who lived in the same house. Many sources of Sunnī Islam list the following sequence: the first Muslim among men is Abū Bakr, the first among women is Khadījah, the first among children is ʿAlī, and the first among slaves is Zayd. In our view, the first Muslims were the household of the Prophet and Khadījah, with no source mentioning that the Prophet's children, whether biological or stepchildren, remained disbelievers, did not believe in him, or did not embrace Islam. The Prophet's eldest daughter, Zaynab, was surely over ten years old at the time. The children of Khadījah from her previous marriages would have been at least two or three years older than Zaynab. Therefore, we do not agree with the aforementioned sequence. However, we can state this clearly: without establishing a strict sequence, it is beyond doubt that the first Muslims were the household of the Prophet and Khadījah. ʿAlī and Zayd are included in this. The first person to accept Islam outside of the Prophet's household was Abū Bakr.

ʿAlī's Hijrah: The Messenger of God ﷺ commanded ʿAlī to remain in Makkah in order to return the trust (the belongings) that had been entrusted to him. This was because, due to the Prophet's truthfulness and reliability, people who had valuable items entrusted them to him, whether it was property or money. When the Prophet ﷺ left Makkah, ʿAlī remained behind for three days and three nights. After he had returned the entrusted items to their rightful owners, he then followed the Prophet and caught up with him. He stayed with him at the house of Kulthūm ibn Hidm. They stayed in Qubāʾ [just south of Madīnah] for one or two nights.

During the time that ʿAlī stayed in Qubāʾ, he recalls an incident. ʿAlī said: "In Qubāʾ, there was a Muslim woman who did not have a husband. Every night, a man would come and knock on her door. The woman would answer the door and take something from him. I became suspicious of this. I said to the woman: 'O, servant of God, you are a Muslim woman without a husband. Who is this man who comes to your door every night and gives you something, which you take from him?' The woman replied: 'This is Sahl ibn Ḥunayf. When he found out that I was without family, every night he would break the idols of my relatives, bring them to me, and tell me to burn them as firewood'." This story was shared by ʿAlī when Sahl ibn Ḥunayf passed away while they were together in Iraq. [768]

[768] ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah*, 2:93, 2:99; Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 6:298 #13072, #13073; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Suhaylī, *al-Rawḍ al-unūf*, 4:182, 4:231; Ibn Kathīr Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyah*, 2:270; Muḥammad ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-athar*, 1:221.

Reports that declare his merit: The lengthy report found in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* is as follows:

عَنْ عَامِرِ بْنِ سَعْدِ بْنِ أَبِي وَقَّاصٍ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ قَالَ: أَمَرَ مُعَاوِيَةُ بْنُ أَبِي سُفْيَانَ سَعْدًا، فَقَالَ: مَا مَنَعَكَ أَنْ تَسُبَّ أَبَا التُّرَابِ؟ فَقَالَ: أَمَّا مَا ذَكَرْتُ ثَلاَثًا قَالَهُنَّ لَهُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَلَنْ أَسُبَّهُ. لأَنْ تَكُونَ لِي وَاحِدَةٌ مِنْهُنَّ أَحَبُّ إِلَيَّ مِنْ حُمْرِ النَّعَمِ. سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ لَهُ: خَلَّفَهُ فِي بَعْضِ مَغَازِيهِ. فَقَالَ لَهُ عَلِيٌّ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ خَلَّفْتَنِي مَعَ النِّسَاءِ وَالصِّبْيَانِ؟ فَقَالَ لَهُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: « أَمَا تَرْضَى أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى، إِلاَّ أَنَّهُ لاَ نُبُوَّةَ بَعْدِي ». وَسَمِعْتُهُ يَقُولُ يَوْمَ خَيْبَرَ: « لأُعْطِيَنَّ الرَّايَةَ رَجُلاً يُحِبُّ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ، وَيُحِبُّهُ اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ ». قَالَ: فَتَطَاوَلْنَا لَهَا. فَقَالَ: « ادْعُوا لِي عَلِيًّا .» فَأُتِيَ بِهِ أَرْمَدَ. فَبَصَقَ فِي عَيْنِهِ، وَدَفَعَ الرَّايَةَ إِلَيْهِ، فَفَتَحَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ. وَلَمَّا نَزَلَتْ هَذِهِ الآيَةُ ﴿ فَقُلْ تَعَالَوْا نَدْعُ أَبْنَاءَنَا وَأَبْنَاءَكُمْ ﴾ دَعَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَلِيًّا، وَفَاطِمَةَ، وَحَسَنًا، وَحُسَيْنًا، فَقَالَ: « اللَّهُمَّ هَؤُلاَءِ أَهْلِي. »

ʿĀmir, the son of Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, transmitted from his father, who said: Muʿāwiyah, the son of Abū Sufyān, said to Saʿd: "What prevents you from reviling Abū Turāb (i.e., ʿAlī)?" Saʿd did not do what was suggested and replied: "As long as I remember three statements that the Messenger of God ﷺ said about him, I shall never revile him. If even one of those had been said about me, it would be dearer to me than red camels." He said: "I heard the Messenger of God ﷺ say about him during one of the military expeditions, when he left ʿAlī behind in Madīnah. He (ʿAlī) said: 'O, Messenger of God! Do you leave me behind with women and children?' The Messenger of God ﷺ said to him: 'Are you not content to be in relation to me as Hārūn was to Mūsá? But there is no prophet after me'." He continued: "I also heard him say on the Day of Khaybar: 'I shall give the standard to a man who loves God and His messenger, and God and His messenger love him.' We all reached

out our hands (eager to be selected). He said: 'Call 'Alī for me.' He was brought while his eyes were sore. The Messenger of God ﷺ applied his saliva to his eyes and gave him the standard. God granted victory at his hands." He also said: "When the verse was revealed concerning the Christians of Najrān 'Come, let us call our sons and your sons, our women and your women, ourselves and yourselves; then let us supplicate, and invoke the curse of God upon the liars'[769] the Messenger of God ﷺ summoned 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn, and said: 'O, God, these are my household'." [770]

Ten virtues of 'Alī:

The ḥadīth of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās:

عَمْرُو بْنُ مَيْمُونٍ قَالَ: إِنِّي لَجَالِسٌ إِلَى ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ، إِذْ أَتَاهُ تِسْعَةُ رَهْطٍ فَقَالُوا: يَا أَبَا عَبَّاسٍ، إِمَّا أَنْ تَقُومَ مَعَنَا ، وَإِمَّا أَنْ يُخْلُونَا هَؤُلاَءِ. قَالَ: فَقَالَ ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ: بَلْ أَقُومُ مَعَكُمْ. قَالَ: وَهُوَ يَوْمَئِذٍ صَحِيحٌ قَبْلَ أَنْ يَعْمَى. قَالَ: فَابْتَدَؤُوا فَتَحَدَّثُوا، فَلاَ نَدْرِي مَا قَالُوا. قَالَ: فَجَاءَ يَنْفُضُ ثَوْبَهُ وَيَقُولُ: « أُفْ وَتُفْ ، وَقَعُوا فِي رَجُلٍ لَهُ عَشْرٌ. وَقَعُوا فِي رَجُلٍ قَالَ لَهُ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: لأَبْعَثَنَّ رَجُلاً لاَ يُخْزِيهِ اللَّهُ أَبَدًا، يُحِبُّ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ. قَالَ: فَاسْتَشْرَفَ لَهَا مَنِ اسْتَشْرَفَ. قَالَ: أَيْنَ عَلِيٌّ ؟ قَالُوا: هُوَ فِي الرَّحَى يَطْحَنُ. قَالَ: وَمَا كَانَ أَحَدُكُمْ لِيَطْحَنَ ؟ قَالَ: فَجَاءَ وَهُوَ أَرْمَدُ، لاَ يَكَادُ يُبْصِرُ. قَالَ: فَنَفَثَ فِي عَيْنَيْهِ، ثُمَّ هَزَّ الرَّايَةَ ثَلاَثًا، فَأَعْطَاهَا إِيَّاهُ. فَجَاءَ بِصَفِيَّةَ بِنْتِ حُيَيٍّ. قَالَ: ثُمَّ بَعَثَ فُلاَنًا بِسُورَةِ التَّوْبَةِ. فَبَعَثَ عَلِيًّا خَلْفَهُ، فَأَخَذَهَا مِنْهُ. قَالَ: لاَ يَذْهَبُ بِهَا إِلاَّ رَجُلٌ مِنِّي، وَأَنَا مِنْهُ. قَالَ: وَقَالَ لِبَنِي عَمِّهِ: أَيُّكُمْ يُوَالِينِي فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالآخِرَةِ ؟ قَالَ: وَعَلِيٌّ مَعَهُ جَالِسٌ ، فَأَبَوْا. فَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ: أَنَا أُوَالِيكَ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالآخِرَةِ. قَالَ: أَنْتَ وَلِيِّي فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالآخِرَةِ. قَالَ: فَتَرَكَهُ ، ثُمَّ أَقْبَلَ عَلَى رَجُلٍ مِنْهُمْ.

[769] Q, Āl 'Imrān, 3:61.

[770] Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 7:120 #6373; Muḥammad ibn 'Īsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 365.

فَقَالَ: أَيُّكُمْ يُوَالِينِي فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالآخِرَةِ ؟ فَأَبَوْا . قَالَ: فَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ: أَنَا أُوَالِيكَ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالآخِرَةِ. فَقَالَ: أَنْتَ وَلِيِّي فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالآخِرَةِ . قَالَ: وَكَانَ أَوَّلَ مَنْ أَسْلَمَ مِنَ النَّاسِ بَعْدَ خَدِيجَةَ. قَالَ: وَأَخَذَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ ثَوْبَهُ فَوَضَعَهُ عَلَى عَلِيٍّ ، وَفَاطِمَةَ ، وَحَسَنٍ ، وَحُسَيْنٍ فَقَالَ: ﴿ إِنَّمَا يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ لِيُذْهِبَ عَنْكُمُ الرِّجْسَ أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ وَيُطَهِّرَكُمْ تَطْهِيرًا ﴾. قَالَ: وَشَرَى عَلِيٌّ نَفْسَهُ. لَبِسَ ثَوْبَ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ ، ثُمَّ نَامَ مَكَانَهُ. قَالَ: وَكَانَ الْمُشْرِكُونَ يَرْمُونَ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. فَجَاءَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ وَعَلِيٌّ نَائِمٌ ، قَالَ: وَأَبُو بَكْرٍ يَحْسَبُ أَنَّهُ نَبِيُّ اللهِ . قَالَ: فَقَالَ: يَا نَبِيَّ اللهِ . قَالَ: فَقَالَ لَهُ عَلِيٌّ: إِنَّ نَبِيَّ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَدِ انْطَلَقَ نَحْوَ بِئْرِ مَيْمُونٍ، فَأَدْرِكْهُ. قَالَ: فَانْطَلَقَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ، فَدَخَلَ مَعَهُ الْغَارَ. قَالَ: وَجَعَلَ عَلِيٌّ يُرْمَى بِالْحِجَارَةِ كَمَا كَانَ يُرْمَى نَبِيُّ اللهِ. وَهُوَ يَتَضَوَّرُ، قَدْ لَفَّ رَأْسَهُ فِي الثَّوْبِ، لاَ يُخْرِجُهُ حَتَّى أَصْبَحَ. ثُمَّ كَشَفَ عَنْ رَأْسِهِ. فَقَالُوا: إِنَّكَ لَلَئِيمٌ، كَانَ صَاحِبُكَ نَرْمِيهِ فَلا يَتَضَوَّرُ، وَأَنْتَ تَتَضَوَّرُ، وَقَدِ اسْتَنْكَرْنَا ذَلِكَ. قَالَ: وَخَرَجَ بِالنَّاسِ فِي غَزْوَةِ تَبُوكَ. قَالَ: فَقَالَ لَهُ عَلِيٌّ: أَخْرُجُ مَعَكَ ؟ قَالَ: فَقَالَ لَهُ نَبِيُّ اللهِ: لاَ. فَبَكَى عَلِيٌّ. فَقَالَ لَهُ : أَمَا تَرْضَى أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى، إِلاَّ أَنَّكَ لَسْتَ بِنَبِيٍّ. إِنَّهُ لاَ يَنْبَغِي أَنْ أَذْهَبَ إِلاَّ وَأَنْتَ خَلِيفَتِي. قَالَ: وَقَالَ لَهُ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: أَنْتَ وَلِيِّي فِي كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ بَعْدِي. وَقَالَ: وسَدَّ أَبْوَابَ الْمَسْجِدِ غَيْرَ بَابِ عَلِيٍّ. فَقَالَ: فَيَدْخُلُ الْمَسْجِدَ جُنُبًا، وَهُوَ طَرِيقُهُ لَيْسَ لَهُ طَرِيقٌ غَيْرُهُ. قَالَ: وَقَالَ: مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلاَهُ فَإِنَّ مَوْلاَهُ عَلِيٌّ. قَالَ: وَأَخْبَرَنَا اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ فِي الْقُرْآنِ: أَنَّهُ قَدْ رَضِيَ عَنْهُمْ، عَنْ أَصْحَابِ الشَّجَرَةِ، فَعَلِمَ مَا فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ. هَلْ حَدَّثَنَا أَنَّهُ سَخِطَ عَلَيْهِمْ بَعْدُ ؟ قَالَ: وَقَالَ نَبِيُّ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ

وَسَلَّمَ لِعُمَرَ حِينَ قَالَ: اِئْذَنْ لِي فَلأَضْرِبْ عُنُقَهُ. قَالَ: وَكُنْتَ فَاعِلاً ؟ وَمَا يُدْرِيكَ ، لَعَلَّ اللَّهَ قَدِ اطَّلَعَ إِلَى أَهْلِ بَدْرٍ ، فَقَالَ: اعْمَلُوا مَا شِئْتُمْ.

ʿAmr ibn Maymūn said: I was sitting with ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās when nine individuals came to him and said, "O, father of al-ʿAbbās, either you stand and come with us, or let these others leave us alone." ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās said, "I shall stand and come with you." At that time, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās had not yet lost his eyesight. They began to speak first, but we could not make out what they were discussing. As he returned from them, he shook his garment and said "Hmff! Pfah!," expressing disgust, and said: "They spoke against a man who possesses ten distinguishing virtues, against one about whom the Prophet ﷺ said these words:

1. 'I shall send against them (the Jews of Khaybar) a man who loves God and His messenger, and whom God shall never allow to be defeated.' Everyone stretched forth his hand to receive the banner, but the Prophet said: 'Where is ʿAlī?' They said: 'He is grinding flour with a hand-mill.' He said: 'It would be better if one of you had done it instead.' ʿAlī came, though his eyes were so afflicted he could barely see. The Prophet blew into his eyes, then shook the banner three times and gave it to ʿAlī. (ʿAlī conquered the fortress and) brought back Ṣafīyah, the daughter of Ḥuyayy.
2. When the newly revealed sūrat al-Tawbah was to be conveyed, the Prophet sent it in written form with Abū Bakr, who was on his way to the Ḥajj. Then he dispatched ʿAlī after him and said: 'Take sūrat al-Tawbah from him, for none shall deliver it on my behalf except a man who is from me and I am from him.'
3. When he asked his cousins: 'Which of you will take me as his *walī* (master)[771] in this world and the next?' ʿAlī was sitting with him. None of them responded affirmatively. ʿAlī said: 'I take you as my *walī* in this world and the next.' The Prophet replied: 'You are my *walī* in this world and the next.' He repeated this

[771] In Arabic, *walī* and *mawlā* carry multiple meanings, including: master, chief (*sayyid*), friend, follower, teacher, Lord (*rabb*), owner, servant, slave, guardian, educator, and adherent (*tābiʿ*).

question to his cousins, and their silence, and ʿAlī's affirmation, and the Prophet's response to him occurred three times.

4. ʿAlī was the first to accept Islam after Khadījah. The Messenger of God ﷺ took his cloak and covered ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn with it, and then recited the following verse:

﴿ إِنَّمَا يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ لِيُذْهِبَ عَنْكُمُ الرِّجْسَ أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ وَيُطَهِّرَكُمْ تَطْهِيرًا ﴾

"Indeed, God desires to remove defilement from you, O, People of the House, and to purify you thoroughly" (Q 33:33).[772]

5. ʿAlī [was prepared to] sacrifice himself by wearing the Prophet's garment and lying in his bed [when the the assassins came to kill Muḥammad in the middle of the night].
6. The polytheists were throwing stones at the house of the Messenger of God ﷺ. Abū Bakr came to the house of the Messenger of God ﷺ. ʿAlī was lying in his bed. Abū Bakr thought it was the Messenger of God who was lying in the bed. He called out, "O, Prophet of God!" ʿAlī replied: "The Prophet ﷺ has gone toward the well of Maymūn." Abū Bakr caught up with him there. They went together and entered the cave on Mount Thawr. The Makkans, thinking that the one in the bed was the Prophet, continued throwing stones at ʿAlī, who was in the house. ʿAlī kept turning back and forth in the bed out of anxiety. He had wrapped a garment around his head so he would not be recognized. He did not remove that wrapping until the morning. When morning came and he uncovered his head, it was realized that the one lying there was ʿAlī. They said to him: "You are a *laʾīm* (a vile/ignoble man)! We used to throw stones at your companion and he never showed anxiety. But you were anxious." Indeed, we found this strange. ʿAbd Allāh continued:
7. When the Messenger of God ﷺ set out for the expedition of Tabūk, he left ʿAlī in charge of Madīnah. ʿAlī said: "Shall I not come with you?" The Prophet of God replied: "No, you will remain here." ʿAlī began to weep. So the Messenger of God ﷺ said: "Are you not content to be to me what Hārūn was to Mūsá? Except that there is no prophet after me. It is not fitting that I depart without appointing you as my successor."

[772] Q. al-Aḥzāb, 33:33.

8. Again, the Messenger of God ﷺ said to him: "After me, you are the *walī* (master) of every believer." He ordered that all the doors leading into the mosque be closed, except for the door of ʿAlī. [773] Certainly, the permission to enter the mosque while in a state of *junub* (ritually impure) was granted exclusively to ʿAlī. For this reason. ʿAlī would enter the mosque while in a state of *junub*. His door opened into the mosque. In order to go to his house he had to pass through the mosque. As a necessity, this permission had been granted to him.
9. Again, at the head of the water source known as Khumm, the Messenger of God ﷺ raised his hands and said: "Whoever I am the *mawlá* (master) of, ʿAlī is also their *mawlá*."
10. God, the Most High, has informed us in the Qurʾān that He is pleased with the Companions who gave the oath of allegiance under the tree. God knows what is in their hearts. After this news, did the Messenger of God ﷺ express anger or displeasure towards the Companions? No. ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās continued: When ʿUmar said to the Messenger of God ﷺ: "Give me permission to strike Ḥaṭīb's neck," the Prophet ﷺ replied: "Will you do that? What do you know? Perhaps God observed the people of Badr and said to them: 'Do whatever you wish, I have forgiven you'." [774]

This ḥadīth has been narrated in Nasāʾī's *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, [775] al-Ṭabarānī's *al-Muʃam al-kabīr* and *al-Muʃam al-awsaṭ*,[776] and al-Ḥākim's *al-Mustadrak*. Al-Ḥākim said about this ḥadīth: "This is a ḥadīth with a sound chain of transmission. (Bukhārī and Muslim) did not narrate it in this context in their books." Al-Dhahabī also confirmed its authenticity.[777]

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[773] In al-Bukhārī: "He had all the doors closed, except the door of Abū Bakr." We have already explained this matter.

[774] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 5:178 #3061; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:683 #1168.

[775] Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, #8102; *Khaṣāʾiṣ ʿAlī*, 49 #24.

[776] Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 10:244 #12428; *al-Muʃam al-awsaṭ*, 3:165 #2815.

[777] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:143 #4652.

The ḥadīth of Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī:

عَنْ أَبِي سَعِيدٍ الْخُدْرِيِّ قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ:« نَزَلَتْ هَذِهِ الآيَةُ فِي خَمْسَةٍ: فِيَّ، وَفِي عَلِيٍّ، وَحَسَنٍ، وَحُسَيْنٍ، وَفَاطِمَةَ ﴿ إِنَّمَا يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ لِيُذْهِبَ عَنْكُمُ الرِّجْسَ أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ وَيُطَهِّرَكُمْ تَطْهِيرًا﴾ »

Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī said: The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "O, People of the Household, God desires to remove impurity from you and purify you thoroughly.[778] This verse was revealed concerning five people: myself, ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn."[779]

Al-Ṭabarānī has narrated this report with similar wording in all three of his *Muʿjam* works, through different chains of narration.[780]

In addition, Aḥmad ibn Marwān al-Dīnawarī has narrated it in his book *al-Mujālisah*.[781]

To love ʿAlī is commanded by God:

عَنِ ابْنِ بُرَيْدَةَ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: «إِنَّ اللَّهَ أَمَرَنِي بِحُبِّ أَرْبَعَةٍ، وَأَخْبَرَنِي أَنَّهُ يُحِبُّهُمْ .» قِيلَ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ، مَنْ هُمْ؟ قَالَ: «عَلِيٌّ مِنْهُمْ.» يَقُولُ ذَلِكَ ثَلاَثًا: « وَأَبُو ذَرٍّ، وَسَلْمَانُ، وَالْمِقْدَادُ. »

The son of Buraydah, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Buraydah, narrated from his father, who said: The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "God commanded me to love four people, and He informed me that He loves them." "Who are they, O, Messenger of God?" was asked. He replied," ʿAlī is one of them." He repeated this three times. "God commanded me to love Abū Dharr, Miqdād, and Salmān, and He informed me that He loves them."[782]

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[778] Q. al-Aḥzāb, 33:33.

[779] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān fī taʾwīl al-Qurʾān*, 19:101.

[780] Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 3:94 #2607; *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, 3:380 #3456; *al-Muʿjam al-ṣaghīr*, 1:231 #360.

[781] Aḥmad ibn Marwān al-Dīnawarī, *al-Mujālasah wa-jawāhir al-ʿilm*, 8:286 #3554.

[782] Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 6:79 #3718; Ibn Mājah Muḥammad ibn Yazīd, *al-Sunan*, 1:53 #149; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 38:121 #23014; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:689 #1176; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 1:284 #4394; Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī, *al-Sharīʿah*, 4:2029 #1495, #1497; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-*

After the Messenger of God ﷺ, the person most beloved by God from the community of Muḥammad is ʿAlī. This is evident from the ḥadīths narrated by scholars like Tirmidhī, Nasāʾī, Ḥākim, Bazzār, Ṭabarānī, ʿAjurrī, Abū Nuʿaym, Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, and Ibn ʿAsākir, from sources like Anas ibn Mālik, Safīnah, ʿAlī, and Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī. These ḥadīths, including the famous "ḥadīth al-ṭayr" (the ḥadīth of the bird), convey that ʿAlī is among the most beloved by God. We will include the narrations from Anas ibn Mālik, Safīnah, and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās.

The Ḥadīth of the Bird (Ḥadīth al-Ṭayr):

Anas ibn Mālik's narration, As narrated by Tirmidhī:

عَنْ أَنَسِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ قَالَ: كَانَ عِنْدَ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ طَيْرٌ. فَقَالَ: «اللَّهُمَّ ائْتِنِي بِأَحَبِّ خَلْقِكَ إِلَيْكَ، يَأْكُلُ مَعِي هَذَا الطَّيْرَ. » فَجَاءَ عَلِيٌّ فَأَكَلَ مَعَهُ.

Anas ibn Mālik said: There was a roasted bird before the Prophet ﷺ. He prayed, "O, God, bring the person You love most, so that he may eat from this bird with me." ʿAlī came, and they ate together. [783]

The narration in *al-Mustadrak* by Ḥākim is more detailed:

عَنْ أَنَسِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ قَالَ: كُنْتُ أَخْدُمُ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. فَقُدِّمَ لِرَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَرْخٌ مَشْوِيٌّ. فَقَالَ: « اللَّهُمَّ ائْتِنِي بِأَحَبِّ خَلْقِكَ إِلَيْكَ يَأْكُلُ مَعِي مِنْ هَذَا الطَّيْرِ. قَالَ: فَقُلْتُ: اللَّهُمَّ اجْعَلْهُ رَجُلاً مِنَ الأَنْصَارِ. فَجَاءَ عَلِيٌّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. فَقُلْتُ: إِنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ

Mustadrak, 3:130 #4649. In this narration, it is reported: " ʿAlī is one of them," and then he fell silent. He repeated this several times.

[783] Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 6:81 #3721; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:410 #8341; *Khaṣāʾiṣ ʿAlī*, 29 #10; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 7:105 #4052; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 1:307 #729; *al-Muʃam al-awsaṭ*, 2:206 #1744, 6:90 #5886, 7:267 #7466, 9:146 #9372; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 2:366 #7547.

صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَلَى حَاجَةٍ. ثُمَّ جَاءَ، فَقُلْتُ: إِنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَلَى حَاجَةٍ. ثُمَّ جَاءَ، فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: افْتَحْ ، فَدَخَلَ. فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: مَا حَبَسَكَ عَلَيَّ ؟ فَقَالَ: إِنَّ هَذِهِ آخِرَ ثَلاَثِ كَرَّاتٍ يَرُدَّنِي أَنَسٌ، يَزْعُمُ إِنَّكَ عَلَى حَاجَةٍ. فَقَالَ: مَا حَمَلَكَ عَلَى مَا صَنَعْتَ ؟ فَقُلْتُ : يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ، سَمِعْتُ دُعَاءَكَ، فَأَحْبَبْتُ أَنْ يَكُونَ رَجُلاً مِنْ قَوْمِي. فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ: إِنَّ الرَّجُلَ قَدْ يُحِبُّ قَوْمَهُ. » هَذَا حَدِيثٌ صَحِيحٌ عَلَى شَرْطِ الشَّيْخَيْنِ ، وَلَمْ يُخَرِّجَاهُ. وَقَدْ رَوَاهُ عَنْ أَنَسٍ جَمَاعَةٌ مِنْ أَصْحَابِهِ، زِيَادَةً عَلَى ثَلاَثِينَ نَفْسًا. ثُمَّ صَحَّتِ الرِّوَايَةُ عَنْ عَلِيٍّ، وَأَبِي سَعِيدٍ الْخُدْرِيِّ، وَسَفِينَةَ. وَفِي حَدِيثِ ثَابِتٍ الْبُنَانِيِّ عَنْ أَنَسٍ زِيَادَةُ أَلْفَاظٍ.

Anas ibn Mālik said: I was serving the Messenger of God ﷺ. A cooked bird was presented to the Messenger of God ﷺ. He then prayed, saying: "O, God, bring to me the one whom You love most from Your creation so that he may eat from this bird's meat with me." Anas said: (To myself) I thought: "O, God, let it be someone from the Anṣār." ʿAlī came, and I said, "The Messenger of God ﷺ is occupied." He came again, and I said, "The Messenger of God ﷺ is occupied." (For the third time) ʿAlī came again. The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "Open the door," and ʿAlī entered. The Messenger of God ﷺ said to ʿAlī: "Why were you delayed?" ʿAlī said: "I came three times, Anas said the Messenger of God ﷺ was occupied, so he sent me back." The Prophet ﷺ asked Anas: "Why did you do that?" Anas replied: "O, Messenger of God, I heard Your prayer, and I wished that it would be someone from my people (the Anṣār)." Upon this, the Messenger of God ﷺ said: "Indeed, a person loves his people."

Al-Ḥākim said: This ḥadīth is authentic according to the conditions of the two Shaykhs (Bukhārī and Muslim), but they did not narrate it in their books. A group of over thirty of Anas's companions narrated this ḥadīth. Furthermore, this ḥadīth has been authentically narrated from ʿAlī, Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, and Safīnah. There is an addition in the narration of Thabīṭ al-Bunānī from Anas.[784]

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[784] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:130 #4650.

Safīnah's ḥadīth in Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal:

عَنْ سَفِينَةَ قَالَ: أَهْدَت امْرَأَةٌ مِنَ ٱلأَنْصَارِ إِلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ طَيْرَيْنِ بَيْنَ رَغِيفَيْنِ. فَقَدَّمَتْ إِلَيْهِ الطَّيْرَيْنِ. فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: « اللَّهُمَّ ائْتِنِي بِأَحَبِّ خَلْقِكَ إِلَيْكَ وَإِلَى رَسُولِكَ.» وَرَفَعَ صَوْتَهُ. فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: «مَنْ هَذَا؟» فَقَالَ: عَلِيٌّ، فَقَالَ: «فَافْتَحْ لَهُ» ، فَفَتَحْتُ، فَأَكَلَ مَعَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مِنَ الطَّيْرَيْنِ حَتَّى فَنِيَا.

Safīnah, said: A woman from the Anṣār gifted two cooked birds placed between two pieces of bread to the Messenger of God ﷺ. The Messenger of God ﷺ then said: "O, God, bring to me the one whom You and Your Messenger love most from Your creation." He raised his voice while making this supplication. (At that moment, someone knocked on the door.) The Messenger of God ﷺ asked: "Who is it?" I replied, "It is Ali." He said: "Open the door for him." I opened the door, and ʿAlī ate with the Messenger of God ﷺ until the two birds were finished.[785]

The narration of al-Bazzār:

عَنْ سَفِينَةَ، وَكَانَ خَادِمًا لِرَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: أُهْدِيَ لِرَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ طَوَايِرُ. فَصَنَعْتُ لَهُ بَعْضَهَا. فَلَمَّا أَصْبَحَ أَتَيْتُهُ بِهِ. فَقَالَ: « مِنْ أَيْنَ لَكَ هَذَا ؟ فَقُلْتُ: مِنَ الَّذِي أُتِيتَ بِهِ أَمْسِ. قَالَ: أَلَمْ أَقُلْ لَكَ لاَ تَدَّخِرَنَّ لِغَدٍ طَعَامًا؟ لِكُلِّ يَوْمٍ رِزْقُهُ. ثُمَّ قَالَ: اللَّهُمَّ أَدْخِلْ عَلَيَّ أَحَبَّ خَلْقِكَ إِلَيْكَ، يَأْكُلُ مَعِي مِنْ هَذَا الطَّيْرِ. فَدَخَلَ عَلِيٌّ، فَقَالَ: اللَّهُمَّ وَإِلَيَّ .»

Safīnah said: The Prophet ﷺ was gifted some birds. I cooked some of them for him. In the morning, I took them to him. He asked: "Where did you bring this from?" I replied: "It is from what was brought to you yesterday." He said: "Did I not tell you not to save food for the next day? Each day has its own sustenance." Then he said: "O, God, bring to

[785] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:561 #945.

me the one from Your creation whom You and Your Messenger love the most to eat from this bird's meat." ʿAlī entered. The Prophet ﷺ said: "O, God, (Ali) is also the one whom I love the most."[786]

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās's ḥadīth:

عَنِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى عَنْهُما، قَالَ: « أُتِيَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بِطَيْرٍ، فَقَالَ:اللَّهُمَّ ائْتِنِي بِأَحَبِّ خَلْقِكَ إِلَيْكَ. فَجَاءَ عَلِيٌّ، فَقَالَ: اللَّهُمَّ وَإِلَيَّ. «

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās said: A bird was brought to the Prophet ﷺ. He prayed, "O, God, bring to me the one You love most among Your creation." When ʿAlī came, he said, "O, God, let him be the one I love most as well."[787]

Al-Dhahabī summarized this ḥadīth in his *Siyar aʿlām an-nubalāʾ*, stating: The *ṭayr* (bird) ḥadīth is weak, but it has many chains. I have gathered these chains in part.[788] This ḥadīth is not established in terms of authenticity, though I do not consider it false.[789] The views of those who have commented on the ḥadīth: This narration has greatly engaged the ḥadīth critics. There have been differing approaches on this point. If this ḥadīth were authentic, it would contradict the view that Abū Bakr is the most virtuous of the community. In our view, this thinking is not sound. A servant of God who is greatly loved by Him may not necessarily be the most virtuous. Moreover, the ḥadīth from the Battle of Khaybar, where the Prophet ﷺ said, "Tomorrow, I will give the banner to the one whom God and His messenger love, and the one who loves God and His messenger," supports this. God does not love just one person; He has loved and continues to love many of His servants. Al-Mubārakfūrī, in his commentary on *al-Tirmidhī*, wrote: Turbestī said:

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[786] Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 9:287 #3841; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 6:192 #6323.

[787] Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 9:150 #10519. This ḥadīth has also been narrated by al-ʿUqaylī, Abū Aḥmad ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAdīy, Ibn al-Maghāzilī, Ibn ʿAsākir ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, and al-Khwārizmī.

[788] In ḥadīth science, *juzʾ* refers to a collection of ḥadīths devoted to a single topic. Its plural is *ajzāʾ*. There are hundreds of *ajzāʾ* in existence, many of which are important works in the ḥadīth tradition.

[789] Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 25:229–231; *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, 3:465.

This ḥadīth does not contradict the authentic narrations that require the acceptance of the superiority and virtue of Abū Bakr. In addition to the authentic narrations, there is also the consensus (*ijmāʿ*) of the Companions. Since the scholars of ḥadīth transmission have critiqued this ḥadīth, it is not permissible to accept its opposition to a matter of consensus. Particularly, the Companion who narrated this (Anas ibn Mālik) was included in this consensus (that Abū Bakr is the most virtuous) and never deviated from this view while he was alive, nor did he ever say anything against it. Even if this ḥadīth were accepted as authentic, it must be interpreted in a way that does not contradict the belief in the virtue of Abū Bakr. It could be interpreted as: "The most beloved person" meaning "One of those whom You love the most," in which case others could share in this characteristic. They too, by the consensus of the ummah, are the most virtuous (Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, and ʿAlī). This is similar to saying, "So-and-so is the wisest and most virtuous of people," meaning "he is among the wisest and most virtuous." It is not permissible to generalize this. The proof for this is that the Prophet ﷺ is also among God's creation. It is never permissible to say that anyone is more beloved to God than him. If it is said that this is known through the foundation of the law, we respond by saying that what we have discussed is known through authentic texts and the consensus of the ummah. In that case, this ḥadīth is interpreted in the manner we have mentioned, or it refers to the one among his cousins or relatives who is most loved. Sometimes, when the Prophet ﷺ speaks in an absolute sense, he is intending to limit it, and when he speaks in general terms, he may intend a specific instance. The understanding person would grasp the intended meaning based on the situation at hand.

The author of *al-Mukhtaṣar* said: This ḥadīth has many chains of transmission, but these chains are weak. Ibn al-Jawzī mentioned this ḥadīth in his book *al-Mawḍūʿāt*. Al-Ḥākim, however, narrated it in his *al-Mustadrak* and stated that it is authentic. Many scholars disagreed with him. For a complete review of this topic, one should read al-Ḥākim's biography in *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*. Additionally, one should refer to al-Shawkānī's *al-Fawāʾid al-majmūʿah*. Zaylaʿī, in his *al-Hidāyah* (1:189), said: There are many ḥadīths whose narrators are numerous and whose chains of transmission are many, yet they remain weak, such as the *ṭayr* (bird), the *al-ḥājim wa-al-maḥjūm* [cupping], and the *man kuntu mawlāh*

[whoseover I am his master...] ḥadīths. In fact, the large number of chains only increases their weakness. (Zaylaʿī's statement ends here.) Al-Dhahabī, in his *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ* (3:164), mentioned in al-Ḥākim's biography: Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb said (in *Tārīkh Baghdād* 3:94): "Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim was trustworthy (*thikah*). He had a tendency toward Shiʿism." Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-ʿUrmawī, a pious and learned man, narrated to me that al-Ḥākim collected some ḥadīths and claimed that these ḥadīths were authentic, in accordance with the conditions of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. The *ṭayr* ḥadīth and the *man kuntu mawlāh* ḥadīth are among them. The scholars of ḥadīth did not accept this and paid no attention to his statement. Ḥāfiẓ Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad al-Samarkandī said: I heard from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shādhiyānī, a friend of al-Ḥākim, in the gathering of Sayyid Abū al-Ḥasan that when al-Ḥākim was asked about the *ṭayr* (bird) ḥadīth, he replied: "It is not authentic. If it were authentic, no one would be more virtuous than ʿAlī after the Prophet ﷺ." Al-Dhahabī said: Later, al-Ḥākim changed his position and narrated the *ṭayr* (bird) ḥadīth in his *al-Mustadrak*. There is no doubt that there are ḥadīths in *al-Mustadrak* that do not meet the conditions of authenticity, and some are even fabricated. This is the situation of *al-Mustadrak*. As for the *ṭayr* (bird) ḥadīth, indeed, it has many chains of transmission. I have written a separate work on this topic. When all the chains are gathered together, the original ḥadīth should be established. The *man kuntu mawlāh* ḥadīth also has good chains of transmission. I have written a work on this as well. [790]

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī wrote in his *Qūt al-mughtadhī sharḥ sunan al-Tirmidhī*: Anas ibn Mālik said, "A cooked bird was placed before the Prophet ﷺ. He then prayed: 'O, God, bring to me the one whom You love most from Your creation, so that he may eat from this bird.' 'Alī came, and he ate with him." Ḥāfiẓ Sirāj al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī criticized this ḥadīth in his *Masābīḥ*, claiming that it was fabricated (*mawḍūʿ*). Ḥāfiẓ Salāḥ al-Dīn al-ʿAlāʾī said: This ḥadīth is not fabricated, but it has many chains of transmission, most of which are weak. Some of the weaknesses are not severe, and possibly some chains strengthen others to the point where it reaches the status of *ḥasan* (good). In the chain, Ismāʿīl, known as al-Suddī, was cited, and Muslim has used him as a source for ḥadīth transmission. ʿĪsá ibn ʿUmar, known as al-Asadī, was from Kūfah and was considered reliable by Yaḥyá ibn Maʿīn and others. No one has

[790] Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mubārakfūrī, *Tuḥfat al-aḥwadhī*, 9:134 #3655.

criticized him. ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Mūsá is well-known as a narrator of *Saḥīḥayn* (the two authentic collections, al-Bukhārī and Muslim). Mus-hir ibn ʿAbd al-Malik also narrated this ḥadīth from ʿīsá ibn ʿUmar. Ibn Ḥibbān deemed Mus-hir trustworthy. However, for Ḥasan ibn Ḥammād al-Warrāq in the chain, al-Nasāʾī said he was not strong, and al-Bukhārī noted that his narrations require scrutiny. Based on these statements, it is appropriate to accept the ḥadīth as *mutābiʿ* (corroborated). This ḥadīth was also narrated by al-Nasāʾī in his *Khaṣāʾiṣ ʿAlī*.

Abū Bakr ibn Mardawayh compiled a portion of the chains for this ḥadīth. Ḥāfiẓ ibn Ṭāhir stated: "All of the chains for this ḥadīth are defective and fabricated," which is an excessive stance in response to al-Ḥākim's lenient approach. It is difficult to decisively declare this ḥadīth as fabricated (*mawḍūʿ*). Because of this, Abū al-Faraj (Ibn al-Jawzī) did not mention this ḥadīth in his *al-Mawḍūʿāt* (Fabricated Ḥadīths) book. Ḥāfiẓ Salāḥ al-Dīn al-ʿAlāʾī's opinion ends here. Al-Suyūṭī then proceeds to mention Turbestī's statements as cited above.[791] Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, after extensive citations, concludes that the ḥadīth is weak.[792]

Evaluation of the Statements Regarding This Ḥadīth: This ḥadīth has engaged the scholars of Ahl al-Sunnah, and some have repeatedly rejected it. Our opinion regarding this ḥadīth is as follows: Some fear that if this ḥadīth is authentic, it would imply that Abū Bakr is surpassed and deemed less virtuous. However, we believe this viewpoint is incorrect. All of them (the Companions) are exalted figures in Islam, and there are authentic narrations that describe their virtues. The most accurate understanding of the ḥadīth is that when it refers to "the one whom God loves most," it can be understood as one of the most beloved, rather than implying an absolute superiority over others. This interpretation is the most reasonable. Attempts to twist the meaning of the ḥadīth are a result of sectarian bias. We do not subscribe to extreme views that arise from sectarianism. As for whether the ḥadīth is authentic: In our view, this ḥadīth is authentic. Around eighty individuals have narrated this ḥadīth from Anas. As a narration, it is *mutawātir* (conveyed by many) up to Anas ibn Mālik. According to the science of ḥadīth, the condition of the narrators in a *mutawātir* ḥadīth is

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[791] Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *Kūt al-mughtadhī sharḥ sunan al-Tirmidhī*, 2:1003 #1043. See also: ʿAlī al-Qārī, *Mirqāt al-mafātīḥ sharḥ mishkāt al-maṣābīḥ*, 9:3938 #6094.

[792] Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, *Silsilat al-aḥādīth al-ḍaʿīfah wa-al-mawḍūʿah*, 14:173.

not scrutinized in terms of *jarḥ wa-ta'dīl* (criticism and validation).[793] We cannot declare this ḥadīth *mutawātir* in its entirety, but it is undeniably *mutawātir* up to Anas. Anas himself is a Companion. Given this reality, the opinions we previously cited that declared the ḥadīth fabricated are invalid. At the very least, the ḥadīth is *ḥasan* (good) in terms of authenticity.

Fāṭimah and ʿAlī's Status with the Messenger of God:

Ali was one of the individuals most beloved by the Prophet.

عَنِ النُّعْمَانِ بْنِ بَشِيرٍ قَالَ: « اسْتَأْذَنَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. فَسَمِعَ صَوْتَ عَائِشَةَ عَالِيًا وَهِيَ تَقُولُ: وَاللَّهِ قَدْ عَلِمْتُ أَنَّ عَلِيًّا أَحَبُّ إِلَيْكِ مِنْ أَبِي. فَأَهْوَى إِلَيْهَا أَبُو بَكْرٍ لِيَلْطِمَهَا، وَقَالَ: يَا ابْنَةَ فُلاَنَةَ، أَرَاكِ تَرْفَعِينَ صَوْتَكِ عَلَى رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. فَأَمْسَكَهُ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، وَخَرَجَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ مُغْضَبًا. فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: يَا عَائِشَةُ كَيْفَ رَأَيْتِنِي أَنْقَذْتُكِ مِنَ الرَّجُلِ؟ ثُمَّ اسْتَأْذَنَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ. وَقَدِ اصْطَلَحَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَعَائِشَةُ. فَقَالَ: أَدْخِلاَنِي فِي السِّلْمِ كَمَا أَدْخَلْتُمَانِي فِي الْحَرْبِ. فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: قَدْ فَعَلْنَا. »

Nuʿmān ibn Bashīr reported that he heard: Abū Bakr sought permission to enter the presence of the Messenger of God ﷺ. At that time, he heard ʿĀ'ishah raising her voice several times, saying: "By God, I know you love ʿAlī more than my father." Abū Bakr entered, and as he approached his daughter, he said: "How dare you raise your voice like this in front of the Messenger of God ﷺ?" The Messenger of God ﷺ stopped him. Abū Bakr angrily left the house. (Even in that moment, the

[793] *Mutawātir* ḥadīth: A ḥadīth transmitted by such a large number of people at every level of transmission that it is impossible for them to have agreed upon a lie. These reports convey certainty and do not require the condition of justice in their transmitters; they must be accepted and not rejected. See: Ibrāhīm ibn ʿUmar al-Biqāʿī, *al-Nukat al-wafīyah*, 4:25; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Nukat ʿalá kitāb Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ*, 1:379; ʿAbd Allāh ibn Yūsuf al-Juday', *Taḥrīr ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, 1:26.

Messenger of God ﷺ gently spoke to ʿĀ'ishah, saying:) "O, ʿĀ'ishah, did you see how I saved you from that man?" A little while later, Abū Bakr sought permission to enter again. When he entered and saw that the Messenger of God ﷺ and ʿĀ'ishah had reconciled, he said: "Just as you made me a part of your quarrel, now make me a part of your reconciliation." The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "We have done so." [794]

The rank of ʿAlī in the sight of the Messenger of God ﷺ , was like the rank of Hārūn in the sight of Mūsá.

عَنْ سَعْدِ بْنِ أَبِي وَقَّاصٍ قَالَ: خَلَّفَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم عَلِيَّ بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ فِي غَزْوَةِ تَبُوكَ. فَقَالَ: يَارَسُولَ اللَّهِ تُخَلِّفُنِي فِي النِّسَاءِ وَالْصِّبْيَانِ ؟ فَقَالَ: « أَمَا تَرْضَى أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى، غَيْرَ أَنَّهُ لاَ نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي. »

Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ said: When the Messenger of God ﷺ set out on the expedition to Tabūk, he left ʿAlī as his deputy (to govern) in Madīnah. ʿAlī said: "O, Messenger of God, are you leaving me behind with women and children?" The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "Are you not content that you should be to me as Hārūn was to Mūsá, except that there is no prophet after me?" [795]

There is no harm in repeating here the ḥadīth recorded in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, which we narrated in the section "Who are the People of the House?"

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[794] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 4:275 #18444; *Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥābah*, 1:75 #39; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:448 #8441, #8442, #8443, 8:256 #9110; *Khaṣā'iṣ ʿAlī*, 126 #110; *ʿUshrat al-nisā'*, 128 #257; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 8:223 #3275; Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, 13:333 #5309; ʿAbd al-Bāqī ibn al-Kānīʿ, *Muʿjam al-ṣaḥābah*, 6:418 #1775.

[795] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 5:24 #3706, 6:3 #4416; Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 7:119-120 #6370, #6371; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasā'ī narrates this ḥadīth in his *Khaṣā'iṣ ʿAlī* with over 20 isnāds; Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Qaṭf al-azhār al-mutanāthirah fī al-akhbār al-mutawātirah*, 281 #103, considers this ḥadīth *mutawātir*.

عَنْ عَامِرِ بْنِ سَعْدِ بْنِ أَبِي وَقَّاصٍ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ قَالَ: أَمَرَ مُعَاوِيَةُ بْنُ أَبِي سُفْيَانَ سَعْدًا، فَقَالَ: مَا مَنَعَكَ أَنْ تَسُبَّ أَبَا التُّرَابِ؟ فَقَالَ: أَمَّا مَا ذَكَرْتُ ثَلاَثًا قَالَهُنَّ لَهُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم فَلَنْ أَسُبَّهُ. لأَنْ تَكُونَ لِي وَاحِدَةٌ مِنْهُنَّ أَحَبُّ إِلَىَّ مِنْ حُمْرِ النَّعَمِ. سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم يَقُولُ لَهُ، خَلَّفَهُ فِى بَعْضِ مَغَازِيهِ. فَقَالَ لَهُ عَلِىٌّ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ، خَلَّفْتَنِى مَعَ النِّسَاءِ وَالصِّبْيَانِ؟ فَقَالَ لَهُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم: « أَمَا تَرْضَى أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنِّى بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى؟ إِلاَّ أَنَّهُ لاَ نُبُوَّةَ بَعْدِى ». وَسَمِعْتُهُ يَقُولُ يَوْمَ خَيْبَرَ: « لأُعْطِيَنَّ الرَّايَةَ رَجُلاً يُحِبُّ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ وَيُحِبُّهُ اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ ». قَالَ: فَتَطَاوَلْنَا لَهَا. فَقَالَ: « ادْعُوا لِي عَلِيًّا ». فَأُتِيَ بِهِ أَرْمَدَ. فَبَصَقَ فِي عَيْنِهِ، وَدَفَعَ الرَّايَةَ إِلَيْهِ. فَفَتَحَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ. وَلَمَّا نَزَلَتْ هَذِهِ الآيَةُ: ﴿ فَقُلْ تَعَالَوْا نَدْعُ أَبْنَاءَنَا وَأَبْنَاءَكُمْ ﴾دَعَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم عَلِيًّا، وَفَاطِمَةَ، وَحَسَنًا، وَحُسَيْنًا، فَقَالَ: « اللَّهُمَّ هَؤُلاَءِ أَهْلِي ».

Muslim narrated in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* the following report: ʿĀmir, the son of Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, transmitted from his father who said: Muʿāwiyah, the son of Abū Sufyān, ordered Saʿd to curse Abū Turāb (i.e., ʿAlī). But Saʿd did not do so. Muʿāwiyah then said to him: "What has prevented you from cursing Abū Turāb?" Saʿd replied: "I would never curse him, as I remember three things which the Messenger of God ﷺ said concerning him. Were one of those things said about me, it would be dearer to me than red camels.

First, I heard the Messenger of God ﷺ say to him when he left him in Madīnah during one of the military expeditions, and ʿAlī had said, 'O, Messenger of God, are you leaving me behind with women and children?'—He replied: 'Are you not pleased to be to me as Hārūn was to Mūsá, except that there is no prophet after me?' Second, on the Day of Khaybar, I heard him say: 'Tomorrow I shall give the banner to a man who loves God and His messenger, and God and His messenger love him.' All of us reached out with our hands hoping to be given it. He said: 'Call ʿAlī for me.' So they brought him, and his eyes were afflicted. The Messenger of God ﷺ applied his saliva to his eyes and gave him the

banner. God granted victory at his hand. Third, when the verse was revealed: "After knowledge has come to you, whoever disputes with you about it, say: Come, let us call our sons and your sons, our women and your women, ourselves and yourselves, then let us pray and invoke the curse of God upon the liars" [796] The Messenger of God ﷺ summoned ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn, and said: 'O, God, these are my family'." [797]

The reward for loving ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn:

عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ عَلِيِّ بْنِ الْحُسَيْنِ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَنْ جَدِّهِ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ: أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم أَخَذَ بِيَدِ حَسَنٍ وَحُسَيْنٍ فَقَالَ: « مَنْ أَحَبَّنِي، وَأَحَبَّ هَذَيْنِ، وَأَبَاهُمَا، وَأُمَّهُمَا، كَانَ مَعِي فِي دَرَجَتِي يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ ».

ʿAlī (Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn)'s son Muḥammad (al-Bāqir) narrated from his father ʿAlī, who narrated from his father Ḥusayn, who narrated from his father ʿAlī, who said: The Messenger of God ﷺ took Ḥasan and Ḥusayn by the hand and said: "Whoever loves me, these two, and their mother and father, will be with me on the Day of Resurrection in the same rank." [798]

Loving ʿAlī is part of faith, just as harboring hatred toward him is hypocrisy.

قَالَ عَلِيٌّ: «وَالَّذِي فَلَقَ الْحَبَّةَ، وَبَرَأَ النَّسَمَةَ، إِنَّهُ لَعَهْدُ النَّبِيِّ الْأُمِّيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ إِلَيَّ، أَنْ لاَ يُحِبَّنِي إِلاَّ مُؤْمِنٌ وَلاَ يُبْغِضَنِي إِلاَّ مُنَافِقٌ » .

ʿAlī said: "By the One who splits the grain and creates living beings, the unlettered Prophet ﷺ informed me of the following: 'No one loves me

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[796] Q. Āl ʿImrān, 3:61.

[797] Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 7:120 #6373; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 365; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 5:107 #8399; *Khaṣāʾiṣ ʿAlī*, 30 #11.

[798] Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 13:339 #4098; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 1:77 #576; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:693 #1185; Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī, *al-Sharīʿah*, 5:2151 #1638; Abū Bishr al-Dūlābī, *al-Dhurrīyah al-ṭāhirah*, 272 #226; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 3:82 #2588; *al-Muʿjam al-ṣaghīr*, 2:163 #960.

except a believer, and no one harbors hatred toward me except a hypocrite'." [799]

The version narrated by al-Tirmidhī is as follows:

عَنْ عَلِيٍّ قَالَ: » لَقَدْ عَهِدَ إِلَيَّ النَّبِيُّ ٱلأُمِّيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَنَّهُ لاَ يُحِبُّكَ إِلاَّ مُؤْمِنٌ وَلاَ يُبْغِضُكَ إِلاَّ مُنَافِقٌ «

'Alī said: The Unlettered Prophet ﷺ informed me of the following: "Know that no one loves you except a believer, and no one harbors hatred toward you except a hypocrite."[800]

The ḥadīth of Umm Salamah:

عَنِ الْمُسَاوِرِ الْحِمْيَرِيِّ، عَنْ أُمِّهِ، قَالَتْ: دَخَلْتُ عَلَى أُمِّ سَلَمَةَ فَسَمِعْتُهَا تَقُولُ: كَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم يَقُولُ: « لاَ يُحِبُّ عَلِيًّا مُنَافِقٌ وَلاَ يَبْغَضُهُ مُؤْمِنٌ ».

Musāwir al-Ḥimyarī narrated from his mother, who said: "I entered the presence of Umm Salamah and heard her say: The Messenger of God ﷺ used to say: 'No believer ever harbors hatred toward 'Alī, and no hypocrite ever loves him'." [801]

Cursing 'Alī During the Friday sermons:

From Mu'āwiyah until the caliphate of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, during the time of the Umayyads, it was compulsory for the one

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[799] Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 1:60 #249; Aḥmad ibn Shu'ayb al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:312 #8097, 7:445 #8431; *Khaṣā'iṣ 'Alī*, 118 #100, #101, #102; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:367 #6924; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Umar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 2:182 #560; Abū Nu'aym Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh, *Ṣifat al-nifāq wa-na't al-munāfiqīn*, 102 #71, #72.

[800] Muḥammad ibn 'Īsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 6:93 #3736; Aḥmad ibn Shu'ayb al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan*, #5018, #5022; Ibn Mājah Muḥammad ibn Yazīd, *al-Sunan*, #114; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, #643, #733, #1065; Abū Nu'aym Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh, *Ṣifat al-nifāq wa-na't al-munāfiqīn*, 107 #73.

[801] Muḥammad ibn 'Īsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 13:324 #4083; Abū Ya'lá Aḥmad ibn 'Alī, *al-Musnad*, 6:256 #6931; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, 17:193 #19329; Abū Nu'aym Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh, *Ṣifat al-nifāq wa-na't al-munāfiqīn*, 107 #75.

delivering the sermon to curse ʿAlī. There are two narrations of this in *Saḥīḥ Muslim*.

عَنْ عَامِرِ بْنِ سَعْدِ بْنِ أَبِي وَقَّاصٍ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ قَالَ: أَمَرَ مُعَاوِيَةُ بْنُ أَبِي سُفْيَانَ سَعْدًا، فَقَالَ: مَا مَنَعَكَ أَنْ تَسُبَّ أَبَا التُّرَابِ؟ فَقَالَ: أَمَّا مَا ذَكَرْتُ ثَلاَثًا قَالَهُنَّ لَهُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَلَنْ أَسُبَّهُ. لأَنْ تَكُونَ لِي وَاحِدَةٌ مِنْهُنَّ أَحَبُّ إِلَيَّ مِنْ حُمْرِ النَّعَمِ. سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ لَهُ: خَلَّفَهُ فِي بَعْضِ مَغَازِيهِ. فَقَالَ لَهُ عَلِيٌّ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ خَلَّفْتَنِي مَعَ النِّسَاءِ وَالصِّبْيَانِ؟ فَقَالَ لَهُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: « أَمَا تَرْضَى أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى، إِلاَّ أَنَّهُ لاَ نُبُوَّةَ بَعْدِي ». وَسَمِعْتُهُ يَقُولُ يَوْمَ خَيْبَرَ: « لأُعْطِيَنَّ الرَّايَةَ رَجُلاً يُحِبُّ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ، وَيُحِبُّهُ اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ ». قَالَ: فَتَطَاوَلْنَا لَهَا. فَقَالَ: « ادْعُوا لِي عَلِيًّا .» فَأُتِيَ بِهِ أَرْمَدَ. فَبَصَقَ فِي عَيْنِهِ، وَدَفَعَ الرَّايَةَ إِلَيْهِ، فَفَتَحَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ. وَلَمَّا نَزَلَتْ هَذِهِ الآيَةُ ﴿ فَقُلْ تَعَالَوْا نَدْعُ أَبْنَاءَنَا وَأَبْنَاءَكُمْ ﴾ دَعَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَلِيًّا، وَفَاطِمَةَ، وَحَسَنًا، وَحُسَيْنًا، فَقَالَ: « اللَّهُمَّ هَؤُلاَءِ أَهْلِي . »

ʿĀmir ibn Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ narrated from his father, who said: Muʿāwiyah, the son of Abū Sufyān, asked Saʿd: "What prevents you from cursing Abū Turāb (Ali)?" Saʿd did not do what he was asked and said: "As I remember the three things that the Messenger of God ﷺ said about him, I will never curse him. If any of these were said about me, they would be better than the red camels that would be given to me." I heard that the Messenger of God ﷺ said about him: "When I left ʿAlī in Madīnah during one of the expeditions, ʿAlī said: 'O, Messenger of God, are you leaving me with the women and children?' The Messenger of God ﷺ replied: 'Are you not satisfied with being for me as Hārūn was for Mūsá? But after me, there will be no more prophets'." I also heard him say this on the day of Khaybar: "I will give the banner to someone who loves God and His messenger, and God and His messenger love him." We all extended our hands, and he said: "Call ʿAlī to me." They brought him, and his eyes were suffering. The Messenger of God ﷺ applied his saliva to his eyes and gave him the banner. With his hand,

God granted the conquest of Khaybar. When the verse, "Say, 'Come, let us call our sons and your sons, our women and your women, ourselves and yourselves. Then let us pray earnestly to God to lay His curse upon the liars'," [802] was revealed, the Messenger of God ﷺ called ʿAlī, Fātimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn and said: "O, God, these are my family." [803]

عَنْ سَهْلِ بْنِ سَعْدٍ قَالَ: اسْتُعْمِلَ عَلَى الْمَدِينَةِ رَجُلٌ مِنْ آلِ مَرْوَانَ. قَالَ: فَدَعَا سَهْلَ بْنَ سَعْدٍ فَأَمَرَهُ أَنْ يَشْتُمَ عَلِيًّا. قَالَ: فَأَبَى سَهْلٌ. فَقَالَ لَهُ: أَمَّا إِذْ أَبَيْتَ فَقُلْ: لَعَنَ اللَّهُ أَبَا التُّرَابِ. فَقَالَ سَهْلٌ: مَا كَانَ لِعَلِيٍّ اسْمٌ أَحَبَّ إِلَيْهِ مِنْ أَبِي التُّرَابِ. وَإِنْ كَانَ لَيَفْرَحُ إِذَا دُعِيَ بِهَا. فَقَالَ لَهُ: أَخْبِرْنَا عَنْ قِصَّتِهِ لِمَ سُمِّيَ أَبَا تُرَابٍ. قَالَ: جَاءَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم بَيْتَ فَاطِمَةَ فَلَمْ يَجِدْ عَلِيًّا فِي الْبَيْتِ، فَقَالَ: « أَيْنَ ابْنُ عَمِّكِ ؟ فَقَالَتْ:كَانَ بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَهُ شَيْءٌ فَغَاضَبَنِي. فَخَرَجَ فَلَمْ يَقِلْ عِنْدِي. فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم لِإِنْسَانٍ: انْظُرْ أَيْنَ هُوَ. فَجَاءَ فَقَالَ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ هُوَ فِي الْمَسْجِدِ رَاقِدٌ. فَجَاءَهُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم وَهُوَ مُضْطَجِعٌ قَدْ سَقَطَ رِدَاؤُهُ عَنْ شِقِّهِ، فَأَصَابَهُ تُرَابٌ. فَجَعَلَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم يَمْسَحُهُ عَنْهُ وَيَقُولُ: « قُمْ أَبَا التُّرَابِ ، قُمْ أَبَا التُّرَابِ . »

Saḥl ibn Saʿd said: A member of the Marwān family became the governor of Madīnah. He summoned Saḥl ibn Saʿd and ordered him to curse ʿAlī. Saḥl replied, "I will not curse him." The governor then said, "If you do not curse him, at least say 'curse be upon Abū Turāb'." Saḥl responded, "The name Abū Turāb was the name he loved the most. When he was called by that name, he would be happy." The governor asked, "Why was he given the name Abū Turāb? Tell us the story behind it." Saḥl replied: "The Messenger of God ﷺ came to Fātima's house and did not find ʿAlī there. He asked, 'Where is your uncle's son?'

[802] Q, Āl ʿImrān, 3:61.

[803] Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 7:120 #6373; Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 7:120 #6373.

Fātimah replied, ‘There was some disagreement between us, and he became angry, so he left the house. He did not sleep here during the midday rest.’ The Messenger of God ﷺ asked someone, ‘Go and see where ʿAlī is.’ That person came back and said, ‘O, Messenger of God, he is sleeping in the mosque.’ The Messenger of God ﷺ went to the mosque and found ʿAlī lying down, his outer cloak had come off, and his body was covered in dust. The Messenger of God ﷺ wiped the dust off him and said, ‘Abū Turāb, rise, Abū Turāb, rise’.”[804]

Riyāḥ ibn al-Ḥārith narrated: Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah was in the great mosque, with people from Kūfha on his right and left. A man named Saʿīd ibn Zayd came. Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah welcomed him and made him sit on the cushion beside him, at his feet. Then, a man from Kūfah, Qays ibn ʿAlqamah, came and turned toward Mughīrah, cursing and cursing. Saʿīd ibn Zayd asked, “O, Mughīrah, whom is this man cursing?” Mughīrah replied, “He is cursing ʿAlī.” Saʿīd ibn Zayd said, “O, Mughīra ibn Shuʿbah, you are sitting here while the companions of the Messenger of God ﷺ are being cursed, and you do nothing to stop it?” [805] The following narration is found in the book *al-Ṭabaqāt* by Muḥammad ibn Saʿd: “Before ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz became caliph, ʿAlī was cursed [publicly from the pulpits, by order of the Umayyad rulers]. However, after ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz became caliph, he not only stopped cursing ʿAlī but also abolished and prohibited the practice.”

فَقَالَ كُثَيِّرُ عَزَّةَ الْخُزَاعِيُّ :

وُلِّيتَ فَلَمْ تَشْتُمْ عَلِيًّا وَلَمْ تُخِفْ ... بَرِيًّا وَلَمْ تَتْبَعْ مَقَالَةَ مُجْرِمِ

تَكَلَّمْتَ بِالْحَقِّ الْمُبِينِ وَإِنَّمَا ... تُبَيِّنُ آيَاتِ الْهُدَى بِالتَّكَلُّمِ

فَصَدَّقْتَ مَعْرُوفَ الَّذِي قُلْتَ بِالَّذِي.. فَعَلْتَ فَأَضْحَى رَاضِيًا كُلُّ مُسْلِمِ

Kuthayyir ʿAzzah al-Khuzāʿī, the poet renowned for his love of ʿAzzah, praises ʿUmar with the following couplets:

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[804] Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 7:123 #6382; Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 5:23 #3703 (summarized); Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:368 #6925; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 5:451 #5746.

[805] Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath, *al-Sunan*, 4:212 #4650; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim Aḥmad ibn ʿAmr, *al-Sunnah*, 2:619 #1433.

"You became caliph, did not curse ʿAlī, nor did you intimidate
the innocent. You did not follow the words of the criminal.
You spoke with clear truth.
You explained the guidance verses.
By your actions, you confirmed what is good.
And in doing so, every Muslim became pleased with you." [806]

The story behind the prohibition of cursing ʿAlī is as follows: When ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the son of Marwān, was the governor of Egypt, he sent his son ʿUmar to his brother ʿAbd al-Malik, the governor of Madīnah, to learn knowledge. ʿUmar was young at that time. As usual, he went to the house of ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿUtbah ibn Masʿūd, one of the seven famous jurists of Madīnah, to study. One day, when he went there, ʿUbayd Allāh turned away from him. ʿUmar asked, "Why are you turning away from me, my master?" ʿUbayd Allāh replied, "Do you know of anything concerning God's anger toward the companions who pledged allegiance to the Messenger of God ﷺ at Hudaybīyah, after which He was pleased with them?" ʿUmar said, "No." ʿUbayd Allāh continued, "According to what has reached me, what about the things being said about the son of Abū Ṭālib, Ali?" ʿUmar replied, "My master, I repent to God." The sons of Umayyah used to curse ʿAlī and cast curses upon him while standing on the pulpit on Fridays. May God have mercy on ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, for he abolished this harmful practice and replaced it with...

﴿ إِنَّ اللهَ يَأْمُرُ بِالْعَدْلِ وَالإِحْسَانِ وَإِيتَاء ذِي الْقُرْبَى وَيَنْهَى عَنِ الْفَحْشَاء وَالْمُنكَرِ وَالْبَغْيِ يَعِظُكُمْ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَذَكَّرُونَ ﴾

"Indeed, God commands justice, the doing of good, and liberality to kith and kin; He forbids all shameful deeds, injustice, and rebellion; He instructs you that you may receive admonition." [807]

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[806] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 5:393 #6816; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 5:147. Kuthayyir ʿAzzah: Kuthayyir ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Khuzāʿī (d. 105/723) was a famous poet from the people of Madīnah, who resided often in Egypt. When the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān came to know of his literary rank, he honored him. He was celebrated by the Umayyad caliphs. Because of his love for ʿAzzah, the daughter of Ḥumayl, he was known as "'Azza's Kuthayyir." His *dīwān* (collected poetry) has been published. See: Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, 5:219.

Ibn Taymīyah said about this matter: As for the cursing of ʿAlī, when the two sides (ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah) fought each other, they also cursed one another. These people were cursing them in their prayers, and they were cursing them in return. It is said that they did this in the *qunūt* portion of the prayer. Engaging in physical combat is greater than cursing one another with words. Whether it is due to *ijtihād* (personal judgment), a sin, a mistake, or correctness, both are the same. God's forgiveness and mercy encompass this through repentance and good deeds.[808] It has also been written: The second view: It has been said that while some of the Umayyad family members were cursing ʿAlī, ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, in his sermon, in order to abolish this corrupt practice, would instead mention the four caliphs and say, "May God be pleased with them."[809] Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī also wrote: As for ʿAlī, another group fought against him. The situation became so bad that they criticized him severely and made it a practice to curse him in their sermons. The Khārijīs, in their hatred for ʿAlī, even went as far as to declare him a disbeliever.[810] In his history, *al-Mukhtasar*, Abū al-Fidāʾ wrote: While Muʿāwiyah and his relatives were praying for ʿUthmān in the sermon, they were cursing ʿAlī and speaking ill of him. When Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah was the governor of Kūfah, he followed Muʿāwiyah's orders and did this. Ḥujr and those with him would return the curse to Mughīrah. Mughīrah did not say anything in response. When Ziyād became governor, he would curse ʿAlī while praying for ʿUthmān. (The curse involved calling down a curse on him.)[811]

The Umayyad caliphs continued to curse ʿAlī from the 41st year of the hijrah (the year Ḥasan abdicated the caliphate) until the 99th year. This period ended with the rule of Sulaymān ibn ʿAbd al-Malik. When ʿUmar [ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz] became caliph, he abolished this practice. He wrote to his governors, informing them that the cursing of ʿAlī had been abolished.[812] Ibn Ḥazm al-Ẓāhirī wrote in his book *al-Muhallá* that the Umayyad family introduced the *bidʿah* (innovation) of delivering the

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[807] Q, al-Naḥl, 16:90.

[808] Ibn Taymīyah Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm, *Minhāj al-sunnah*, 4:468.

[809] Ibn Taymīyah Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm, *Minhāj al-sunnah*, 4:160.

[810] Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, 7:71.

[811] Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAlī, *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, 1:129.

[812] Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAlī, *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, 1:139.

sermon before the prayer on the ʿĪd holidays. The reason they introduced it was that after the prayer, people would leave without listening to the sermon because they were cursing ʿAlī. Therefore, Muslims were avoiding it, and their avoidance was justified. In reality, listening to the sermon on ʿīd is not obligatory.[813]

When Ḥasan and Muʿāwiyah made peace, Ḥasan requested that the following be included in their agreement: the revenues from the Kūfah treasury and the taxes from Darābijird be given to him. ʿAlī should not be cursed. Muʿāwiyah agreed to the financial terms but did not agree to stop cursing ʿAlī. Ḥasan then requested that they should not curse him in a manner where he could hear it. Muʿāwiyah agreed, but did not implement this.[814] In the *Ṭabaqāt* of Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, the following narration is found: ʿUmayr ibn Isḥāq said: Marwān was our emir for six years. Every Friday, while on the pulpit, he would curse ʿAlī. He was deposed from his emirate. Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ became the emir for several years, and he did not curse ʿAlī. He too was removed. Marwān was reinstated as emir and continued his cursing. Someone said to Ḥasan, "O, Ḥasan, don't you hear what he is saying?" Ḥasan did not respond. Ḥasan would come to the mosque on Fridays, enter the Prophet's room (the room of the Prophet's grave), and sit there. After the sermon, he would come out, perform the prayer, and then go to his house.[815]

Recently, in the Arab world, some writers who are supporters of the Umayyads reject the reports about cursing ʿAlī. They claim that these narrations are not authentic in terms of their chain of transmission (isnād) and deny it. They argue that the reports in *Saḥīḥ Muslim* are weak. Even a person from Madīnah, known as Ḥattá al-Ruḥaylī, wrote a book on this subject. He interpreted the incident where Muʿāwiyah asked Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ to curse ʿAlī as a joke from Muʿāwiyah. How can we deny that ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz prohibited this and instead ordered the recitation of the verse from *al-Nahl* (Q 16:90)? May God grant us fairness and insight.

The Change in the Sermon and Prayer on Festival Days: The scholar from Madīnah, Muḥammad Mukhtār al-Shanqīṭī, in his book

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813 ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥazm al-Ẓāhirī, *al-Muḥallá bi-al-āthār*, 3:299; Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *Tārīkh al-khulafā'*, 182.

814 Ibn al-Athīr ʿAlī ibn Abī al-Karam Muḥammad al-Jazarī, *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, 3:6; Abū al-Fidā' Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAlī, *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, 1:183.

815 Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, supplementary volume, 1:399 #370.

Sharḥ zād al-mustaknī, provides the following information: Regarding how the festival prayer should be performed and the sermon delivered afterward: The practice of the Prophet ﷺ was to lead the prayer before the sermon on festival days. This was also the practice of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, and was what they did. This was the practice of the Prophet and the rightly guided caliphs. May God forgive him, the first to change this practice by delivering the sermon before the prayer on festival days was Marwān, the son of Ḥakam. Until the time of ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the Umayyads, like Marwān, would deliver the sermon while cursing ʿAlī and speaking ill of him. Every Friday and on festival days, they would curse ʿAlī [from the pulpits to the gathered congregations]. It is said that the first one to do this was Muʿāwiyah. ʿAlī, while reciting the *qunūt* (supplication) during the dawn prayer, learned that Muʿāwiyah had cursed him, and in return, he cursed Muʿāwiyah. This evil custom continued on Fridays and festivals. When Marwān (while he was the governor of Madīnah) cursed ʿAlī in his sermon, the companions would leave the mosque. Marwān was removed from his position, and in an attempt to make the people stay for the sermon, he made a change, delivering the sermon first and then leading the prayer. One day, while heading to the festival prayer, he was accompanied by Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī. As Marwān was about to ascend the pulpit, Abū Saʿīd pulled him and said, "You have changed the sunnah." Marwān replied, "The people are not like before; they do not listen to the sermon." Marwān made his *ijtihād* (independent legal reasoning) and, in order to make the people listen, he delivered the sermon before the prayer. There is no doubt that this is an invented innovation (*bidʿah*). May God forgive us and them. Whoever delivers the sermon before the prayer on festival days, the sermon becomes invalid and the prayer is also not valid, because this is a practice out of place and contradicts what the Messenger of God ﷺ did.[816]

For a few years now, some individuals who speak and write on TV have claimed, "The Umayyad family changed the religion," and have made the following assertion. They claim that on days when the sermon is delivered (on Fridays and festivals), the proper practice is to first perform the prayer and then deliver the sermon. This claim is incorrect. The correct practice is as follows: On Friday, the sermon is delivered first and then the prayer is performed. However, on the festival days, the

[816] Muḥammad Mukhtār al-Shinqīṭī, *Sharḥ zād al-mustaqniʿ*, 3:74.

prayer is performed first and then the sermon is delivered. When Marwān was the governor of Madīnah, he changed the practice on festival days, delivering the sermon first and then performing the prayer. His mistake was not accepted and faced much criticism. Later, this practice was abandoned, and as the Prophet did, on festival days, the prayer is performed first, and the sermon is delivered afterward. This is still the practice today, and there is no mistake in it.

The Hypocrites in Madīnah Used to Dislike ʿAlī: Abū al-Zubayr Muḥammad ibn Muslim said: I asked Jābir: "How was ʿAlī among you?" He replied: "He was one of the best of mankind. We would recognize the hypocrites by their hatred of him."[817] Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Isfahānī, in his book *Ṣifat al-nifāq wa naʿat al-munāfiqīn* (The Characteristics of Hypocrisy and the Description of the Hypocrites), opened a chapter with the title "The Sign of the Hypocrites is Their Dislike for ʿAlī."

ʿAbd Allāh ibn Nujayy narrated, saying: ʿAlī said: "In the love of my mother Fāṭimah, both the disbelievers and the believers shared equally. What was written for me is that every believer will love me, and every hypocrite will hate me."[818] Abū al-Tufayl narrated from ʿAlī, who said: "If I were to strike the nose of a believer, he would never dislike me. And if I were to give gold and silver to a hypocrite, he would never love me."[819] Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī said: "During the time of the Messenger of God ﷺ we, the Anṣār, would recognize the hypocrites by their hatred of Ali."[820] Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī said: "We would recognize the hypocrites by three characteristics: they would deny God and His messenger, they would be late for the prayer, and they would hate ʿAlī, the son of Abū Ṭālib."[821] ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir said: I heard the Messenger of God ﷺ say

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[817] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:671 #1146; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, 2:328 #2125; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh, *Ṣifat al-nifāq wa-naʿt al-munāfiqīn*, 110 #78.

[818] Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh, *Ṣifat al-nifāq wa-naʿt al-munāfiqīn*, 107 #74.

[819] Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh, *Ṣifat al-nifāq wa-naʿt al-munāfiqīn*, 109 #76.

[820] Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh, *Ṣifat al-nifāq wa-naʿt al-munāfiqīn*, 111 #77, #78, #79, #80.

[821] Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh, *Ṣifat al-nifāq wa-naʿt al-munāfiqīn*, 112 #81.

about ʿAlī: "O, ʿAlī, happy is the one who speaks the truth about you and loves you. Woe to the one who lies about you and hates you."[822]

Whoever hurts ʿAlī has hurt the Messenger of God ﷺ.

The narration of ʿAmr ibn Shās al-Aslamī follows:

عَنْ عَمْرِو بْنِ شَاسٍ الأَسْلَمِيِّ ، قَالَ : وَكَانَ مِنْ أَصْحَابِ الْحُدَيْبِيَةِ ، قَالَ : خَرَجْتُ مَعَ عَلِيٍّ إِلَى الْيَمَنِ ، فَجَفَانِي فِي سَفَرِي ذَلِكَ ، حَتَّى وَجَدْتُ فِي نَفْسِي عَلَيْهِ ، فَلَمَّا قَدِمْتُ أَظْهَرْتُ شَكَايَتَهُ فِي الْمَسْجِدِ ، حَتَّى بَلَغَ ذَلِكَ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ ، فَدَخَلْتُ الْمَسْجِدَ ذَاتَ غَدَاةٍ ، وَرَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فِي نَاسٍ مِنْ أَصْحَابِهِ ، فَلَمَّا رَآنِي أَبَدَّنِي عَيْنَيْهِ – يَقُولُ : حَدَّدَ إِلَيَّ النَّظَرَ – حَتَّى إِذَا جَلَسْتُ قَالَ: يَا عَمْرُو ، وَاللَّهِ لَقَدْ آذَيْتَنِي. قُلْتُ : أَعُوذُ بِاللهِ أَنْ أُوذِيَكَ يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ ، قَالَ : بَلَى مَنْ آذَى عَلِيًّا فَقَدْ آذَانِي.

ʿAmr ibn Shās al-Aslamī, one of the Companions of Ḥudaybīyah, said: I traveled to Yemen with ʿAlī. During that journey, he treated me harshly and upset me. I became angry with him in my heart. When we returned to Madīnah, I complained about him in the mosque. The Messenger of God ﷺ heard of my complaint. One day, I entered the mosque in the morning. The Messenger of God ﷺ was with some of his Companions. When he saw me, he looked at me sternly. When I sat down, he said: "O, ʿAmr, by God, you have caused me distress." I replied: "O, Messenger of God, I seek refuge in God from upsetting you." He said: "Yes, it is true; whoever hurts ʿAlī has hurt me." [823]

Whoever curses ʿAlī has cursed the Messenger of God.

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[822] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:680 #1162; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 2:259 #1602; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:135 #4657; al-Ḥasan Ibn ʿArafah al-ʿAbdī, *J̌uzʾ Ibn ʿArafah*, 46 #8.

[823] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 3:483 #15960; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:579 #981; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 12:75 #32771; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:365 #6923; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:122 #4619; Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubūwah*, 5:394.

عَنْ أَبِي عَبْدِ اللهِ الْجَدَلِيِّ قَالَ: دَخَلْتُ عَلَى أُمِّ سَلَمَةَ، فَقَالَتْ لِي: أَيُسَبُّ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فِيكُمْ ؟ قُلْتُ: مَعَاذَ اللهِ، أَوْ سُبْحَانَ اللهِ، أَوْ كَلِمَةً نَحْوَهَا، قَالَتْ: سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ: « مَنْ سَبَّ عَلِيًّا، فَقَدْ سَبَّنِي .»

Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Jadalī said: I went to Umm Salamah and asked her, "Is the Messenger of God ﷺ being cursed?" I responded, "God forbid, or glory be to God," or similar words. Umm Salamah said, "I heard the Messenger of God ﷺ say: 'Whoever curses ʿAlī has cursed me'."[824]

The ḥadīth narrated by Hakim from ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās:

أَبُو بَكْرِ بْنُ عُبَيْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ أَبِي مُلَيْكَةَ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ قَالَ: جَاءَ رَجُلٌ مِنْ أَهْلِ الشَّامِ. فَسَبَّ عَلِيًّا عِنْدَ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ. فَحَصَبَهُ ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ، فَقَالَ: « يَا عَدُوَّ اللَّهِ، آذَيْتَ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. ﴿ إِنَّ الَّذِينَ يُؤْذُونَ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ لَعَنَهُمُ اللَّهُ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ وَأَعَدَّ لَهُمْ عَذَابًا مُهِينًا ﴾ لَوْ كَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ حَيًّا لَآذَيْتَهُ. «هَذَا حَدِيثٌ صَحِيحُ الْإِسْنَادِ، وَلَمْ يُخَرِّجَاهُ» — صحيح

Abū Bakr ibn ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Abī Mulaykah narrated from his father: A man from the people of Syria came and insulted ʿAlī in the presence of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās. ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās threw pebbles at him and said: "O, enemy of God, you have wronged the Messenger of God ﷺ," and he recited the verse: "God and His messenger are offended by those who harm them; God has cursed them in this world and the Hereafter, and has prepared for them a humiliating punishment." (Q, 33:57). He continued: "If the Messenger of God ﷺ had been alive, you would have harmed him."[825] Hākim stated: This is a ḥadīth with an authentic chain of narration. Bukhārī and Muslim did not narrate it. Dhahabī also affirmed its authenticity. [826]

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[824] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 44:328 #26748; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:594 #1011; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:441 #8422; *Khaṣāʾiṣ ʿAlī*, 111 #91, #92; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:121 #4615.

[825] Q, al-Aḥzāb, 33:57.

[826] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:131 #4618.

The Messenger of God ﷺ said to ʿAlī: "Whoever separates from you, has separated from me."

عَنْ أَبِي ذَرٍّ قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: «يَا عَلِيُّ، إِنَّهُ مَنْ فَارَقَنِي فَقَدْ فَارَقَ اللَّهَ، وَمَنْ فَارَقَكَ فَقَدْ فَارَقَنِي . »

Abū Dharr said: The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "O, ʿAlī, whoever separates from me has separated from God. Whoever separates from you has separated from me."[827] Additionally, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr* also narrates this ḥadīth from ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar.[828] In *al- al-Muʃam al-awsaṭ*, it is narrated in more detail from Buraydah. However, due to the presence of unknown narrators and weak narrators like Ḥusayn al-Ashqar in its chain of transmission, we did not accept that narration.

In the brotherhood established in Madīnah, the Messenger of God ﷺ made ʿAlī his brother:

عَنِ ابْنِ عُمَرَ قَالَ: آخَى رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بَيْنَ أَصْحَابِهِ. فَجَاءَ عَلِيٌّ تَدْمَعُ عَيْنَاهُ فَقَالَ: يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ آخَيْتَ بَيْنَ أَصْحَابِكَ وَلَمْ تُؤَاخِ بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَ أَحَدٍ. فَقَالَ لَهُ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ : « أَنْتَ أَخِي فِي الدُّنْيَا والآخِرَةِ. »

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar said: When The Messenger of God ﷺ came to Madīnah, he established brotherhood among his companions. ʿAlī came, his eyes tearful, and said: "O, Messenger of God, you have made brotherhood between the companions, but you have not made me brother to anyone." The Messenger of God ﷺ replied: "In this world and the Hereafter, you are my brother."[829]

The narration from Ibn Saʿd in *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá* is as follows:

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[827] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:570 #962; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 9:455 #4066; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:123 #4624, 3:146 #4703.

[828] Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 11:52 #13382.

[829] Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 6:80 #3720; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:598 #1019, 2:617 #1055; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 13:198 #13909; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:15 #4288, 3:16 #4289.

عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عُمَرَ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ قَالَ: لَمَّا قَدِمَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ آخَى بَيْنَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ بَعْضِهِمْ فِي بَعْضٍ، وآخَى بَيْنَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ وَالأَنْصَارِ. فَلَمْ تَكُنْ مُؤَاخَاةٌ إِلاَّ قَبْلَ بَدْرٍ. آخَى بَيْنَهُمْ عَلَى الْحَقِّ وَالْمُؤَاسَاةِ. فَآخَى رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بَيْنَهُ وَبَيْنَ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ.

ʿAbd Allāh, son of Muḥammad, son of ʿUmar, son of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, narrated from his father Muḥammad. Muḥammad, son of ʿUmar, said: When The Messenger of God ﷺ came to Madīnah, he established brotherhood among the Muhājirūn (emigrants who escaped from Makkah) among themselves, and also between the Anṣār (local Madinese helpers) and the Muhājirūn. This brotherhood was instituted before the Battle of Badr. He made them brothers upon truth and mutual support. The Messenger of God ﷺ also made ʿAlī, the son of Abū Ṭālib, his own brother.[830]

From this report, it is understood that two forms of brotherhood were established: the emigrants were made brothers among themselves, and in addition, the emigrants were made brothers with the Anṣār. This brotherhood continued until the revelation of the verse in sūrat al-Ḥujurāt: "The believers are indeed brothers."[831] Upon the revelation of this verse, which established that all believers are brothers, the previous specific form of brotherhood was abrogated.

The beloved ones of The Messenger of God ﷺ: The ḥadīth we are about to present has been transmitted by more than one Companion in the major ḥadīth collections, which attests to the authenticity and significance of the event. For this reason, despite the fact that these narrations convey the same meaning, we have not refrained from transmitting each of them.

The narration of Usāmah ibn Zayd:

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[830] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 3:22 #2806.

[831] Q, al-Ḥujurāt, 49:10.

عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ أُسَامَةَ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ قَالَ: اجْتَمَعَ جَعْفَرٌ وَعَلِيٌّ وَزَيْدُ بْنُ حَارِثَةَ. فَقَالَ جَعْفَرٌ: أَنَا أَحَبُّكُمْ إِلَى رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. وَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ: أَنَا أَحَبُّكُمْ إِلَى رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. وَقَالَ زَيْدٌ: أَنَا أَحَبُّكُمْ إِلَى رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. فَقَالُوا: انْطَلِقُوا بِنَا إِلَى رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ حَتَّى نَسْأَلَهُ. فَقَالَ أُسَامَةُ بْنُ زَيْدٍ: فَجَاؤُوا يَسْتَأْذِنُونَهُ. فَقَالَ: اخْرُجْ فَانْظُرْ مَنْ هَؤُلاَءِ ؟ فَقُلْتُ: هَذَا جَعْفَرٌ، وَعَلِيٌّ، وَزَيْدٌ. مَا أَقُولُ أَبِي. قَالَ: ائْذَنْ لَهُمْ. وَدَخَلُوا فَقَالُوا: مَنْ أَحَبُّ إِلَيْكَ ؟ قَالَ: فَاطِمَةُ. قَالُوا: نَسْأَلُكَ عَنِ الرِّجَالِ. قَالَ: أَمَّا أَنْتَ يَا جَعْفَرُ فَأَشْبَهَ خَلْقُكَ خَلْقِي، وَأَشْبَهَ خُلُقِي خُلُقُكَ، وَأَنْتَ مِنِّي وَشَجَرَتِي. وَأَمَّا أَنْتَ يَا عَلِيُّ، فَخَتَنِي وَأَبُو وَلَدِي. وَأَنَا مِنْكَ وَأَنْتَ مِنِّي. وَأَمَّا أَنْتَ يَا زَيْدُ فَمَوْلاَيَ، وَمِنِّي وَإِلَيَّ، وَأَحَبُّ الْقَوْمِ إِلَيَّ.

Muḥammad ibn Usāmah transmitted from his father Usāmah ibn Zayd, who said: Jaʿfar, ʿAlī, and Zayd ibn Ḥārithah gathered together. Jaʿfar said: "The Messenger of God ﷺ loves me more than both of you." ʿAlī said: "He loves me more than both of you." Zayd said: "He loves me more than both of you." So they said: "Let us go to the Messenger of God ﷺ and ask him." Usāmah ibn Zayd said: They came to seek permission to enter. The Messenger of God ﷺ said to me: "Go out and see who they are." I said: "It is Jaʿfar, ʿAlī, and Zayd." I did not say "my father." He said: "Permit them to enter." They entered and said: "Whom do you love the most?" The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "Fāṭimah." They said: "We are asking about the men." He said: "O, Jaʿfar, your physical constitution is like mine (that is, in form you resemble me), but my character resembles your character.[832] You are from me and of my tree. O, ʿAlī, you are my son-in-law and the father of my [grand]children. I am from you, and you are from me. As for you, O, Zayd, you are my *mawlá* (freedman). You are from me and of me. And you are the one I love most."[833] Al-Bukhārī transmitted this ḥadīth

[832] The Messenger of God ﷺ honored Jaʿfar by likening his character to his own.

[833] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 36:110 #21777; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:459 #8470; *Khaṣāʾiṣ ʿAlī*, 86 #68, #69, #70, #71; Aḥmad ibn

from al-Barāʾ ibn ʿĀzib through two chains, in a lengthier version. We have limited ourselves to the part relevant to our topic. The transmission is as follows:

فَخَرَجَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم. فَتَبِعَتْهُ ابْنَةُ حَمْزَةَ تُنَادِي يَا عَمِّ يَا عَمِّ. فَتَنَاوَلَهَا عَلِيٌّ، فَأَخَذَ بِيَدِهَا. وَقَالَ لِفَاطِمَةَ – عَلَيْهَا السَّلاَمُ – دُونَكِ ابْنَةَ عَمِّكِ احْمِلِيهَا. فَاحْتَصَمَ فِيهَا عَلِيٌّ وَزَيْدٌ وَجَعْفَرٌ. قَالَ عَلِيٌّ: أَنَا أَخَذْتُهَا –أَنَا أَحَقُّ بِهَا – وَهْيَ بِنْتُ عَمِّي. وَقَالَ جَعْفَرٌ: ابْنَةُ عَمِّي وَخَالَتُهَا تَحْتِي. وَقَالَ زَيْدٌ: ابْنَةُ أَخِي. فَقَضَى بِهَا النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم لِخَالَتِهَا، وَقَالَ: الْخَالَةُ بِمَنْزِلَةِ الأُمِّ. وَقَالَ لِعَلِيٍّ: أَنْتَ مِنِّي وَأَنَا مِنْكَ. وَقَالَ لِجَعْفَرٍ: أَشْبَهْتَ خَلْقِي وَخُلُقِي. وَقَالَ لِزَيْدٍ: أَنْتَ أَخُونَا، وَمَوْلاَنَا.

The Prophet ﷺ, after performing the *ʿumrat al-qaḍāʾ*, the compensatory ʿumrah [lesser pilgrimage], and upon the request of the Makkans) departed from Makkah. The daughter of Ḥamzah followed after them, calling out, "Uncle! Uncle!" ʿAlī took her by the hand and brought her to Fāṭimah. He said to Fāṭimah: "She is your uncle's daughter, take her into your arms." So Fāṭimah took her into her arms. When this occurred, ʿAlī, Zayd, and Jaʿfar disagreed about who should take her. ʿAlī said: "It is my right to take her, and I have taken her, because she is the daughter of my uncle." Jaʿfar said: "She is the daughter of my uncle, and my wife is her maternal aunt." Zayd said: "(I will take her, because) she is the daughter of my brother." The Prophet ﷺ ruled that she should be given to her maternal aunt, and said: "The maternal aunt is in the place of the mother." He said to ʿAlī: "You are from me, and I am from you." To Jaʿfar, he said: "You resemble me in appearance and in character." To Zayd, he said: "You are our freedman (*mawlá*) and our associate." [834]

The narration of ʿAlī:

Muḥammad Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, 8:93 #3082; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:217 #4957.

[834] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 3:241 #2699, 5:179 #4251.

عَنْ عَلِيٍّ قَالَ: خَرَجَ زَيْدُ بْنُ حَارِثَةَ إِلَى مَكَّةَ. فَقَدِمَ بِابْنَةِ حَمْزَةَ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ. فَقَالَ جَعْفَرُ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ: أَنَا آخُذُهَا ، وَأَنَا أَحَقُّ بِهَا. بِنْتُ عَمِّي، وَعِنْدِي خَالَتُهَا، وَإِنَّمَا الْخَالَةُ أُمٌّ . قَالَ عَلِيٌّ: بَلْ أَنَا أَحَقُّ بِهَا مِنْكُمَا. بِنْتُ عَمِّي، وَعِنْدِي بِنْتُ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. وَهِيَ أَحَقُّ بِهَا. وَأَنَا أَرْفَعُ صَوْتِي، أُسْمِعُ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ حُجَّتِي قَبْلَ أَنْ يَخْرُجَ. فَقَالَ زَيْدٌ: بَلْ أَنَا أَحَقُّ بِهَا. خَرَجْتُ إِلَيْهَا، وَسَافَرْتُ وَجِئْتُ بِهَا. قَالَ: فَخَرَجَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، فَقَالَ: مَا شَأْنُكُمْ ؟ فَأَعَادُوا عَلَيْهِ مِثْلَ قَوْلِهِمْ . فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: سَأَقْضِي بَيْنَكُمْ فِي هَذَا وَفِي غَيْرِهِ . قَالَ عَلِيٌّ: لَمَّا قَالَ فِي غَيْرِهِ ، قُلْتُ : نَزَلَ الْقُرْآنُ فِي رَفْعِنَا أَصْوَاتَنَا. قَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: أَمَا أَنْتَ لِزَيْدٍ مَوْلاَيَ وَمَوْلاَهُمَا. قَالَ: قَدْ رَضِيتُ يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ. وَأَمَّا أَنْتَ يَا جَعْفَرُ، فَأَشْبَهْتَ خَلْقِي وَخُلُقِي. وَأَنْتَ مِنْ شَجَرَتِي الَّتِي أَنَا مِنْهَا. قَالَ: رَضِيتُ يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ. وَأَمَّا أَنْتَ يَا عَلِيُّ. فَصَفِيِّي وَأَمِينِي. قَالَ: رَضِيتُ يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ. وَأَمَّا الْجَارِيَةُ، فَأَقْضِي بِهَا لِجَعْفَرٍ تَكُونُ مَعَ خَالَتِهَا. وَإِنَّمَا الْخَالَةُ أُمٌّ. قَالَ: قَدْ سَلَّمْنَا يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ.

ʿAlī narrated: Zayd ibn Ḥārithah went to Makkah. When returning, he brought with him the daughter of Ḥamzah, the son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. Jaʿfar, the son of Abū Ṭālib, said: "I will take her in. I have more right to her than anyone. She is the daughter of my uncle, and her maternal aunt is my wife. The maternal aunt is like a mother." ʿAlī said: "I have more right to take her in than both of you. She is the daughter of my uncle. The daughter of the Messenger of God ﷺ is my wife. She has even more right." I said this in a raised voice so that the Messenger of God ﷺ would hear it. I presented my argument before the Messenger of God ﷺ came out of the mosque. Zayd said: "I am the one who has the right to take her in. I went to Makkah to get her and brought her back." At that moment, the Messenger of God ﷺ came out and said: "What is happening with you all?" They repeated what they had said to him. The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "I will judge concerning this matter and

other matters as well." ʿAlī said: "When he said 'other matters,' I thought to myself: Perhaps the Qurʾān has been revealed because we raised our voices." The Messenger of God ﷺ said to Zayd: "You are my *mawlá* (freedman) and associate." Zayd said: "I am content, O, Messenger of God." To Jaʿfar he said: "O, Jaʿfar, you resemble me in character and in physical appearance. You are from the same tree from which I was created." Jaʿfar said: "I am content, O, Messenger of God." To ʿAlī he said: "O, ʿAlī, you are my trusted one and the most eminent of my kin." ʿAlī said: "I am content, O, Messenger of God." Then he said: "I judge that the girl should be given to Jaʿfar. Let her be with her maternal aunt, for the maternal aunt is like a mother." All of them said: "We accept your judgment, O, Messenger of God."[835]

The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "Whomsoever I am his *mawlá* (master), ʿAlī is his *mawlá* as well."

This ḥadīth has been transmitted in two versions. The first version consists only of the statement: "For whomsoever I am his *mawlá*, ʿAlī is his *mawlá*."

The transmission of al-Tirmidhī is as follows:

عَنْ أَبِي سَرِيحَةَ (حذيفة بن الأسيد)، أَوْ زَيْدِ بْنِ أَرْقَمَ، -شَكَّ شُعْبَةُ-، عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: « مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلاَهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلاَهُ ».

Zayd ibn Arqam or Abū Sarīḥa (al-Shuʿba said: it was one of them) narrated: The Prophet ﷺ said: "Whomsoever I am his *mawlá* (master), ʿAlī is also his *mawlá*." [836]

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[835] Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 3:105 #891; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:434 #8404; *Khaṣāʾiṣ ʿAlī*, 90 #73; Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, 8:93 #3082; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim Aḥmad ibn ʿAmr, *al-Sunnah*, 3:336 #1131. From ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās: Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 3:480 #2040; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:433 #8402; *Khaṣāʾiṣ ʿAlī*, 87 #70, #71; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Talkhīṣ al-mutashābih*, 2:851 #1293; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubūwah*, 4:339 #1710; Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 8:326 #10142.

[836] Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 6:74 #3713.

The ḥadīth of Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ:

عَنْ سَعْدِ بْنِ أَبِي وَقَّاصٍ قَالَ: قَدِمَ مُعَاوِيَةُ فِي بَعْضِ حَجَّاتِهِ. فَدَخَلَ عَلَيْهِ سَعْدٌ، فَذَكَرُوا عَلِيًّا. فَنَالَ مِنْهُ. فَغَضِبَ سَعْدٌ، وَقَالَ: تَقُولُ هَذَا لِرَجُلٍ سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وعلى آله وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ: « مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلاَهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلاَهُ ». وَسَمِعْتُهُ يَقُولُ: « أَنْتَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلاَ أَنَّهُ لاَ نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي » وَسَمِعْتُهُ يَقُولُ:« لأُعْطِيَنَّ الرَّايَةَ الْيَوْمَ رَجُلاً يُحِبُّ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ ؟»

Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ narrated: He said: When Muʿāwiyah once came (to Madīnah) for Ḥajj, Saʿd went to him. They spoke about ʿAlī, and Muʿāwiyah spoke against him. Saʿd became angry and said: "Are you speaking against the one about whom the Messenger of God ﷺ said: 'Whomsoever I am the *mawlá* (master), ʿAlī is also his *mawlá*.' I also heard him say: 'Your rank to me is like that of Hārūn to Mūsá, except that there is no prophet after me.' And I also heard him say: 'I will give the banner to a man who loves God and His messenger'."[837]

Evaluation of the first part of the ḥadīth: The transmission of this part of the ḥadīth is *mutawātir* (conveyed by numerous independent chains).[838] As we explained in the discussion of the ḥadīth of the bird, the state of the transmitters of a *mutawātir* ḥadīth is not examined in terms of *jarḥ* and *taʿdīl* (criticism and validation), for there is no doubt that a *mutawātir* ḥadīth must be accepted.

The Companions Who Narrated This Ḥadīth: ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar, ʿAlī ibn Abī

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[837] Ibn Mājah Muḥammad ibn Yazīd, *al-Sunan*, 1:88 #121; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 5:44 #8138, 7:411 #8343; *Khaṣāʾiṣ ʿAlī*, 38 #12.

[838] Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *Qaṭf al-azhār al-mutanāthirah fī al-akhbār al-mutawātirah*, 288 #102 (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1st ed., 1405/1985); Jaʿfar al-Ḥasanī al-Kattānī, *Nazm al-mutanāthir min al-ḥadīth al-mutawātir*, 124 (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 1400/1980). Also cited by al-Munāwī in his commentary on *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr*, *al-Taysīr*, and in *al-Fayḍ al-qadīr*, and *Sharḥ al-Mawāhib al-ladunīyah*. Ibn Ḥajar stated that this ḥadīth was narrated by Isḥāq, Aḥmad, and al-Nasāʾī, and has numerous *ṭuruq* (chains). Ibn ʿUqdah compiled all of them in a dedicated book. Most of the chains are *ṣaḥīḥ* and *ḥasan*. See: ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Munāwī, *al-Fayḍ al-qadīr sharḥ al-jāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr*, 6:282.

Ṭālib, Zayd ibn Arkam, ʿĀmir ibn Wāthilah al-Laythī, ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir, ʿAmr Dhī Murr, Barāʾ ibn ʿĀzib, Bishīr Ibn ʿAmr an-Najjārī, Buraydah ibn al-Ḥasīb al-Aslamī, Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh, Junduʿ al-Anṣārī, Jarīr ibn ʿAbd Allāh, Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, Abū Hurayrah, Abū Qudāmah al-Anṣārī, Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, Abū Surayḥah Ḥudhayfah ibn Usayd al-Ghifārī, Abū al-Ṭufayl, Anas ibn Mālik, Asʿad ibn Zurārah, Fāṭimah, Qays ibn Thābit, Ḥabīb ibn Budayl ibn Warqāʾ, Ḥubshī ibn Junādah, Mālik ibn al-Ḥuwayrith, ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Samurah ibn Jundub, Sharīṭ ibn Anas al-Ashjaʿī, Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allāh, Wahb ibn Ḥamzah, Yaʿlá ibn Mūrra, Zayd ibn Sharāḥīl, Zayd ibn Yuthayʿ. As can be seen, this ḥadīth has been narrated by over thirty Companions.

Sources of the Ḥadīth: Tirmidhī, al-*Sunan*; Ibn Mājah, *al-Sunan*; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*; al-Bazzār, *al-Musnad*; an-Nasāʾī, al-*Sunan al-kubrá*; al-Nasāʾī, *Khaṣāʾiṣ ʿAlī*; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr, al-Muʿjam al-awsat*; Ibn Asākir, *Tārīkh Dimashq*; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ*; Ibn Abī ʿĀsim, *al-Sunnah*, Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, Abū Yaʿlá, *al-Musnad*.

The Second Version of the Ḥadīth Is as Follows:

The narration of Barāʾ ibn ʿĀzib:

عَنِ الْبَرَاءِ بْنِ عَازِبٍ، قَالَ: كُنَّا مَعَ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فِي سَفَرٍ. فَنَزَلْنَا بِغَدِيرِ خُمٍّ، فَنُودِيَ فِينَا: الصَّلاَةُ جَامِعَةٌ. وَكُسِحَ لِرَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ تَحْتَ شَجَرَتَيْنِ. فَصَلَّى الظُّهْرَ، وَأَخَذَ بِيَدِ عَلِيٍّ رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنْهُ فَقَالَ: « أَلَسْتُمْ تَعْلَمُونَ أَنِّي أَوْلَى بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ مِنْ أَنْفُسِهِمْ؟ قَالُوا: بَلَى. قَالَ: أَلَسْتُمْ تَعْلَمُونَ أَنِّي أَوْلَى بِكُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ مِنْ نَفْسِهِ؟ قَالُوا: بَلَى. قَالَ: فَأَخَذَ بِيَدِ عَلِيٍّ، فَقَالَ: مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلاَهُ، فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلاَهُ. اللهُمَّ وَالِ مَنْ وَالاَهُ، وَعَادِ مَنْ عَادَاهُ. قَالَ: فَلَقِيَهُ عُمَرُ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ، فَقَالَ لَهُ: هَنِيئًا يَا ابْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، أَصْبَحْتَ وَأَمْسَيْتَ مَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ، وَمُؤْمِنَةٍ .»

Barāʾ ibn ʿĀzib said: We were on a journey with the Messenger of God ﷺ. We camped at a place by a lake called Khumm. We were called to gather for prayer. The area under two trees was cleared for the

Messenger of God ﷺ. He prayed the midday prayer. He raised ʿAlī's hand and said: "Do you not know that I am more deserving of the believers than themselves?" He repeated this twice. The Companions replied: "Yes it is true." He held his hand and said: "Whoever I am the *mawlá* (master) of, ʿAlī is his *mawlá*. O, God, whoever takes him as a *walī* (master/friend), You be his *walī*. Whoever shows enmity to him, You be his enemy." After this, when ʿUmar met ʿAlī, he would say to him: "O, son of Abū Ṭālib, how fortunate you are. You have become the *mawlá* of every believing man and woman." [839]

The narration of Zayd ibn Arqam:

عَنْ أَبِي الطُّفَيْلِ، عَنْ زَيْدِ بْنِ أَرْقَمَ قَالَ: « لَمَّا رَجَعَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَنْ حَجَّةِ الْوَدَاعِ، وَنَزَلَ غَدِيرَ خُمٍّ. أَمَرَ بَدَوْحَاتٍ فَقُمِمْنَ. ثُمَّ قَالَ: كَأَنِّي قَدْ دُعِيتُ فَأَجَبْتُ. إِنِّي قَدْ تَرَكْتُ فِيكُمُ الثَّقَلَيْنِ: أَحَدُهُمَا أَكْبَرُ مِنَ الآخَرِ. كِتَابَ اللهِ، وَعِتْرَتِي أَهْلَ بَيْتِي. فَانْظُرُوا كَيْفَ تَخْلُفُونِي فِيهِمَا ؟ فَإِنَّهُمَا لَنْ يَتَفَرَّقَا حَتَّى يَرِدَا عَلَيَّ الْحَوْضَ. ثُمَّ قَالَ: إِنَّ اللَّهَ مَوْلاَيَ، وَأَنَا وَلِيُّ كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ. ثُمَّ أَخَذَ بِيَدِ عَلِيٍّ فَقَالَ: مَنْ كُنْتُ وَلِيُّهُ فَهَذَا وَلِيُّهُ. اللَّهُمَّ وَالِ مَنْ وَالاَهُ، وَعَادِ مَنْ عَادَاهُ. فَقُلْتُ لِزَيْدٍ: سَمِعْتَهُ مِنْ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ : مَا كَانَ فِي الدَّوْحَاتِ رَجُلٌ إِلاَّ رَآهُ بِعَيْنِهِ وَسَمِعَ بِأُذُنِهِ ».

Abū al-Ṭufayl (ʿĀmir ibn Wāthilah) narrated from Zayd ibn Arqam. Zayd said: The Messenger of God ﷺ camped by the shore of the Khumm pond while returning from the Farewell Pilgrimage. The area under some trees was cleared. Then he said: "It is as if I have been invited by my Lord, and I have responded to the invitation. I am leaving you with two heavy things. One is greater than the other. One is the book of God, and the other is my *ʿitrah*, my family. Look to see how you treat these two after me. They will not separate from each other until they meet at the Kawthar [fountain in Heaven]." Then he said: "God is my *mawlá* (master), and I am the *mawlá* of every believer." After saying this, he held ʿAlī's hand and said: "Whoever I am the *walī*

[839] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 30:430 #18479; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:610 #1042; Ibn Mājah Muḥammad ibn Yazīd, *al-Sunan*, 1:84 #116.

(master/friend) of, this one is his *walī*. O, God, whoever takes him as a *walī*, You be his *walī*. And whoever shows enmity to him, You be his enemy." Abū al-Ṭufayl said: I asked Zayd: Did you hear this directly from the Messenger of God ﷺ? He replied: "All those who were under the trees saw it with their eyes and heard it with their ears."[840] The reason the Messenger of God ﷺ camped at the head of the Khumm pond and delivered this sermon was to put an end to the rumors that had been spread about ʿAlī, both during the pilgrimage and on the journey.

The narration of Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ:

خَيْثَمَةَ بْنِ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ سَعْدَ بْنَ مَالِكٍ، وَقَالَ لَهُ رَجُلٌ: إِنَّ عَلِيًّا يَقَعُ فِيكَ، إِنَّكَ تَخَلَّفْتَ عَنْهُ. فَقَالَ سَعْدٌ: « وَاللَّهِ إِنَّهُ لَرَأْيٌ رَأَيْتُهُ، وَأَخْطَأَ رَأْيِي. إِنَّ عَلِيَّ بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ أُعْطِيَ ثَلاَثًا، لَأَنْ أَكُونَ أُعْطِيتُ إِحْدَاهُنَّ أَحَبَّ إِلَيَّ مِنَ الدُّنْيَا وَمَا فِيهَا. لَقَدْ قَالَ لَهُ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَوْمَ غَدِيرِ خُمٍّ، بَعْدَ حَمْدِ اللهِ وَالثَّنَاءِ عَلَيْهِ: هَلْ تَعْلَمُونَ أَنِّي أَوْلَى بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ ؟ قُلْنَا: نَعَمْ. قَالَ: اللَّهُمَّ مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلاَهُ، فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلاَهُ. وَالِ مَنْ وَالاَهُ ، وَعَادِ مَنْ عَادَاهُ. وَجِيءَ بِهِ يَوْمَ خَيْبَرَ وَهُوَ أَرْمَدُ مَا يُبْصِرُ. فَقَالَ: يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ، إِنِّي أَرْمَدُ. فَتَفَلَ فِي عَيْنَيْهِ، وَدَعَا لَهُ فَلَمْ يَرْمَدْ حَتَّى قُتِلَ. وَفُتِحَ عَلَيْهِ خَيْبَرُ. وَأَخْرَجَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَمَّهُ الْعَبَّاسَ وَغَيْرَهُ مِنَ الْمَسْجِدِ. فَقَالَ لَهُ الْعَبَّاسُ: تُخْرِجُنَا وَنَحْنُ عَصَبَتُكَ وَعُمُومَتُكَ، وَتُسْكِنُ عَلِيًّا؟ فَقَالَ: مَا أَنَا أَخْرَجْتُكُمْ وَأَسْكَنْتُهُ ، وَلَكِنَّ اللَّهَ أَخْرَجَكُمْ وَأَسْكَنَهُ ».

Khaythamah ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān said: I heard Saʿd ibn Mālik say: Someone said to him, "'Alī speaks against you because you were not with him." Saʿd said: By God, it was my personal opinion, and in that

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[840] Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:310 #8092, 7:439 #8417; *Khaṣāʾiṣ ʿAlī*, 1:96 #79–#88, #93–#96; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:586 #992; Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, 5:18 #1765; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 5:88 #4836, #4846, #4847; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:118 #4576, #6272.

opinion I erred. However, there is no doubt that three things were given to ʿAlī, if one of them had been given to me, it would have been more beloved to me than the world and all that is in it. On the day of the pond of Khumm, the Messenger of God ﷺ praised God and extolled Him, then said: "Do you not know that I am the closest to the believers, their *walī*?" We all said: Yes. Then he said: "O, God, whomever I am the *mawlá* (master) of, ʿAlī is also his *mawlá*. O, God, be the *walī* of whoever takes him as *walī*, and be the enemy of whoever shows enmity toward him." On the day of Khaybar, they brought ʿAlī, whose eyes were ailing and he could not see. He said, "O, Messenger of God, my eyes are ill." The Messenger of God ﷺ placed his saliva upon his eyes and supplicated for him. His eyes never became ill again until he was killed. Khaybar was conquered by his hand. The Messenger of God ﷺ expelled his uncle al-ʿAbbās and other individuals from the mosque. Al-ʿAbbās said, "We are your nearest kin and your uncle. You expel us and allow ʿAlī to remain?" They said: "I did not expel you and allow him to remain. Rather, it is God who expelled you and allowed him to remain."[841]

This ḥadīth is considered weak by ḥadīth scholars due to Muslim al-Mullāʾī being in its chain of transmission. However, because it has corroboration and followers in sound transmissions, this narration gains strength. The important point in this narration is that Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ expressed regret and admitted that he had erred by not being with ʿAlī during the strife that took place.

ʿAlī's gathering of the people in Kūfah and questioning them about the Ḥadīth of Ghadīr Khumm.

عَنْ أَبِي الطُّفَيْلِ عَامِرِ بْنِ وَاثِلَةَ قَالَ: « جَمَعَ عَلِيٌّ النَّاسَ فِي الرَّحْبَةِ فَقَالَ: أَنْشُدُ بِاللَّهِ كُلَّ امْرِئٍ سَمِعَ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ يَوْمَ غَدِيرِ خُمٍّ مَا سَمِعَ. فَقَامَ أُنَاسٌ، فَشَهِدُوا أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ يَوْمَ غَدِيرِ خُمٍّ: أَلَسْتُمْ تَعْلَمُونَ أَنِّي أَوْلَى بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ مِنْ أَنْفُسِهِمْ ؟ وَهُوَ قَائِمٌ. ثُمَّ أَخَذَ بِيَدِ عَلِيٍّ فَقَالَ:مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلاَهُ، فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلاَهُ. اللَّهُمَّ وَالِ مَنْ وَالاَهُ، وَعَادِ مَنْ

[841] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:116 #4601.

عَادَاهُ «.قَالَ أَبُو الطُّفَيْلِ: فَخَرَجْتُ وَفِي نَفْسِي مِنْهُ شَيْءٌ. فَلَقِيتُ زَيْدَ بْنَ أَرْقَمَ، فَأَخْبَرْتُهُ فَقَالَ: أَوَمَا تُنْكِرُ ؟ أَنَا سَمِعْتُهُ مِنْ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. »

Abū al-Ṭufayl ʿĀmir ibn Wāthilah said: ʿAlī gathered the people in the square and called out: "I adjure you by God—whoever heard what the Messenger of God ﷺ said at the pond called Khumm, let him speak." Many people stood up and bore witness, saying: "At the pond of Khumm, the Messenger of God ﷺ took his hand and said: 'Do you not know that I am more entitled to the souls of the believers than they themselves are'?" (He repeated this question twice.) The Companions said: "Yes, indeed." Then he took his hand and said: "Whomever I am the *mawlá* (master) of, ʿAlī is also his *mawlá*. O, God, be the *walī* (friend) of whoever takes him as *walī*, and be the enemy of whoever shows enmity toward him." Abū al-Ṭufayl said: I departed from there, and I felt uneasy about this matter. I encountered Zayd ibn Arqam and recounted it to him. He said: "Why do you deny it? I myself heard it from the Messenger of God ﷺ." [842] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal transmits in this ḥadīth that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Laylá said: "I heard him asking the people in the square about this." [843]

ʿAlī, while on the pulpit in Kūfah, again asked the people about the same event.

عَنْ زَيْدِ بْنِ يُثَيْعٍ قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ عَلِيَّ بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ يَقُولُ عَلَى مِنْبَرِ الْكُوفَةِ: إِنِّي مُنْشِدٌ اللَّهَ رَجُلاً ، وَلاَ أَنْشُدُ إِلاَّ أَصْحَابَ مُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ ، مَنْ سَمِعَ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ يَوْمَ غَدِيرِ خُمٍّ: « مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلاَهُ

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[842] Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:438 #8416, 7:442 #8424, 7:444 #8429, #8430, 7:466 #8489; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 1:84 #641; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:585 #991; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:375 #6931; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 2:133 #492; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 3:26 #2442, 3:299 #2982, 5:88 #4836, #4837, 5:94 #4848 — he also narrates it in *al-Awsaṭ* and *al-Ṣaghīr*; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 1:428 #567, 11:307 #6423; Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, 5:15 #1762.

[843] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 2:268 #961.

فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلاَهُ ، اللَّهُمَّ وَالِ مَنْ وَالاَهُ ، وَعَادِ مَنْ عَادَاهُ ؟ » . فَقَامَ سِتَّةٌ مِنْ جَانِبِ الْمِنْبَرِ ، وَسِتَّةٌ مِنَ الْجَانِبِ الآخَرِ ، فَشَهِدُوا أَنَّهُمْ سَمِعُوا رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ ذَلِكَ. قَالَ شَرِيكٌ : فَقُلْتُ لأَبِي إِسْحَاقَ : هَلْ سَمِعْتَ الْبَرَاءَ بْنَ عَازِبٍ يُحَدِّثُ بِهَذَا عَنْ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ ؟ قَالَ : نَعَمْ. »

Zayd ibn Yusayʿ said: While on the pulpit of Kūfah, I heard him say: "I adjure you by God—only the Companions of Muḥammad ﷺ do I adjure—who among you heard the Messenger of God ﷺ at the pond called Khumm, say: 'Whomever I am the *mawlá (master)* of, ʿAlī is also his *mawlá*. O, God, be the *walī (friend)* of whoever takes him as *walī*, and be the enemy of whoever shows enmity toward him'?" From one side of the pulpit, six men stood up, and from the other side, six men stood up, and they bore witness that the Messenger of God ﷺ said this.

One of the transmitters, Sharīk, said: I asked Abū Isḥāq: "Did you hear Barāʾ ibn ʿĀzib narrate this ḥadīth from the Messenger of God ﷺ?" He said: "Yes."[844] The reason for the question was that, in Kūfah, negative views and propaganda were being spread about ʿAlī, which compelled him to act in this manner.

This was also expressed in the conversation between Ṭalḥah and ʿAlī:

رِفَاعَةُ بْنُ إِيَاسٍ الضَّبِّيُّ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَنْ جَدِّهِ قَالَ: كُنَّا مَعَ عَلِيٍّ يَوْمَ الْجَمَلِ. فَبَعَثَ إِلَى طَلْحَةَ بْنِ عُبَيْدِ اللهِ أَنِ الْقَنِي. فَأَتَاهُ طَلْحَةُ. فَقَالَ: نَشَدْتُكَ اللَّهَ، هَلْ سَمِعْتَ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ: « مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلاَهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلاَهُ ، اللَّهُمَّ وَالِ مَنْ وَلاَهُ ، وَعَادِ مَنْ عَادَاهُ » ؟ قَالَ: نَعَمْ. قَالَ: فَلِمَ تُقَاتِلُنِي ؟ قَالَ: لَمْ أَذْكُرْ. قَالَ: فَانْصَرَفَ طَلْحَةُ.

Rifāʿah ibn Iyās al-Ḍabbī narrated from his father (Iyās al-Ḍabbī), who in turn narrated from his grandfather (Nadhīr al-Ḍabbī), who said: "We were with ʿAlī at the Battle of The Camel. ʿAlī sent a message to Ṭalḥah,

844 Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 2:262 #950, #951; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:439 #8419, 7:442 #8424.

requesting that he come to speak with him. Ṭalḥah came, and ʿAlī said: 'I adjure you by God—did you not hear the Messenger of God ﷺ say: "Whomever I am the *mawlá* (master) of, ʿAlī is also his *mawlá*. O, God, be the walī (friend) of whoever takes him as *walī*, and be the enemy of whoever shows enmity toward him"?' Ṭalḥah replied: 'Yes, I did hear it.' Then ʿAlī said: 'Then why are you fighting me?' Ṭalḥah responded: 'I had forgotten it.' He then withdrew from the fighting." [845]

It has been said, however, that both Iyās ibn Nadhīr al-Ḍabbī and his father Nadhīr are *majhūl* (unknown); their state is not well known. Therefore, the ḥadīth is considered weak in terms of transmission. Nonetheless, the part of the ḥadīth that states: "Whomever I am the *mawlá* (master) of, ʿAlī is also his *mawlá*. O, God, be the *walī* of whoever takes him as *walī*," is authentic. The report that Ṭalḥah spoke with ʿAlī and abandoned the fighting is a known historical fact. The historical record confirms this event: Ṭalḥah withdrew from the Battle of The Camel, and Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam shot and killed him with an arrow. Since Ṭalḥah was unjustly killed, he is among the people of Paradise, and the ḥadīth of the ten promised Paradise (*al-ʿasharah al-mubashsharah*) applies to him.

The reason for the occurrence of this ḥadīth is transmitted as follows: Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq narrated this ḥadīth from Yazīd, son of Ṭalḥah, son of Yazīd, son of Rukānah. Yazīd, son of Rukānah, said: "'Alī returned from Yemen in order to meet the Messenger of God ﷺ in Makkah. He appointed one of his companions as the commander of the army and left ahead of the troops to reach the Prophet quickly. The one he appointed dressed the soldiers in some of the garments taken as spoils of war. When the troops approached Makkah, ʿAlī came out to meet them. When he saw everyone wearing new garments, he asked, 'What is this?' The one he had appointed said: 'I dressed them so they would look presentable when meeting people.' ʿAlī said: 'Woe to you! Before reaching the Messenger of God ﷺ remove those garments.' He then took the garments back and placed them among the rest of the property. As a result, the troops complained about ʿAlī." Ibn Isḥāq also narrated from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī: "The people complained about ʿAlī. Then the Messenger of God ﷺ stood up and addressed us, saying: 'O, people, do not complain about ʿAlī. By God, he is too conscientious in the path

[845] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:417 #5589, #5590, #5591, 3:419 #5594.

of God to be the object of complaint'." [846] The exegete, ḥadīth scholar, and historian Ibn Kathīr said: "The reason the Messenger of God ﷺ delivered this sermon and praised ʿAlī was, according to what Ibn Isḥāq reported, that the Messenger of God sent ʿAlī and Khālid ibn al-Walīd as governors over Yemen. ʿAlī returned from Yemen and met the Prophet in Makkah during the Farewell Pilgrimage. Some people opposed him. ʿAlī, hurrying to meet the Prophet, left his troops behind and appointed someone else in charge. That deputy commander distributed garments from the zakāt and khums (fifth of the spoils) among the troops. When ʿAlī took the garments back, people began to speak against him. After the Farewell Pilgrimage, the Prophet declared that he was free of the complaints made against ʿAlī." [847]

Regarding this matter, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās narrated from Buraydah the following ḥadīth:

عَنِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ، عَنْ بُرَيْدَةَ قَالَ: غَزَوْتُ مَعَ عَلِيٍّ الْيَمَنَ، فَرَأَيْتُ مِنْهُ جَفْوَةً. فَلَمَّا قَدِمْتُ عَلَى رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ ذَكَرْتُ عَلِيًّا فَتَنَقَّصْتُهُ. فَرَأَيْتُ وَجْهَ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَتَغَيَّرُ. فَقَالَ: « يَا بُرَيْدَةُ أَلَسْتُ أَوْلَى بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ مِنْ أَنْفُسِهِمْ؟ » قُلْتُ: بَلَى يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ. قَالَ: « مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلاَهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلاَهُ ».

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās transmitted from Buraydah, who said: I participated in the expedition to Yemen with ʿAlī and experienced harshness from him. When I came to the Messenger of God ﷺ I complained about ʿAlī and spoke ill of him. I saw that the expression on the Messenger of God's face changed. Thereupon he said: "O, Buraydah, am I not more entitled to the believers than they are to themselves?" I said, "Indeed, O, Messenger of God." He said: "Whoever I am the *mawlá* (master) of, then ʿAlī is also his *mawlá*."[848]

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[846] ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyah*, 2:603.

[847] Ibn Kathīr Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar, *al-Bidāyah wa-al-nihāyah*, 11:34; Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Abū Shuhbah, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyah ʿalá ḍawʾ al-kitāb wa-al-sunnah*, 2:580 (Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 8th edition, 1427/2006).

[848] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 38:32 #22945; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:584 #989; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 12:83 #32795; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 10:275 #4352;

Assessment of this ḥadīth: Concerning the second portion of this ḥadīth, there is a divergence of opinion among ḥadīth scholars. Ibn Ḥazm rejected both parts of the ḥadīth, claiming that it was not transmitted by reliable narrators.[849] However, the various chains of transmission of this ḥadīth invalidate his view. Ibn Taymīyah asserted that the second portion is *mawḍūʿ* (fabricated), but this opinion has also not been accepted.[850] Ibn Kathīr, in *al-Bidāyah wa-al-nihāyah*, cited al-Dhahabī as stating that the first part of the ḥadīth is *mutawātir* (numerously transmitted) and that he believed the Messenger of God ﷺ indeed said it. As for the second portion, he said: "This additional wording also has a strong chain of transmission."[851] In our view, the ḥadīth, including its second portion, meets the conditions of *tawātur* (abundant, numerous transmission). At the very least, it is *ṣaḥīḥ li-ghayrih* (sound due to corroboration). That is, when all its chains of transmission are considered collectively, the ḥadīth that is *ḥasan* (good) in itself is elevated to the level of *ṣaḥīḥ* (sound).

This second portion of the ḥadīth has been transmitted by twenty-three Companions. These Companions are: ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, ʿĀmir ibn Wāthilah al-Laythī (Abū al-Ṭufayl), al-Barāʾ ibn ʿĀzib, Buraydah ibn al-Ḥaṣīb, Jarīr ibn ʿAbd Allāh, Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, Abū Hurayrah, Abū Qudāmah al-Anṣārī, Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, Anas ibn Mālik, Ḥubshī ibn Junādah, Ḥudhayfah ibn Asīd al-Ghifārī, Nabīt ibn Sharīṭ al-Ashjaʿī, Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Samurah ibn Jundub, Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allāh, Umm Salamah, Yaʿlá ibn Murra al-Thaqafī, and Zayd ibn Arqam.

The sources that transmit this portion of the ḥadīth are as follows: Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad* and *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah;* Ḍiyāʾ al-Maqdisī, *al-Aḥādīth al-mukhtārah*; Abū Bishr al-Dūlābī, *al-Dhurrīyah al-ṭāhirah*; Abū Yaʿlá, *al-Musnad*; al-Ājurrī, *al-Sharīʿah*; al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār* and *al-Musnad*; al-Shāshī, *al-Musnad*; al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*; al-Khaṭīb al-

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Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:309 #8089, 7:437 #8412, #8413; *Khaṣāʾiṣ ʿAlī*, 99 #81; Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī, *al-Sharīʿah*, 4:2044 #1514; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim Aḥmad ibn ʿAmr, *al-Āḥād wa-al-mathānī*, 4:325 #2357; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:110 #4578.

[849] Ibn Taymīyah, *Minhāj al-sunnah*, 7:320.

[850] Ibn Taymīyah, *Minhāj al-sunnah*, 7:55, 7:319, 7:360.

[851] Ibn Kathīr Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar, *al-Bidāyah wa-al-nihāyah*, 5:214.

Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, *Talkhīṣ al-mutashābih*, and *al-Faṣl li-al-waṣl al-mudraj*; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh Dimashq*; Ibn Abī Shaybah, *al-Muṣannaf*; Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*; Ibn Mājah, *al-Sunan*; Ibn al-Muqriʾ, *al-Muʿjam*; al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá* and *Khaṣāʾiṣ ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib* (in eight transmission lines); al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, and *al-Muʿjam al-ṣaghīr*; al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*.

As is evident, there are numerous transmission routes of this ḥadīth in the aforementioned sources. Aḥmad Mīrīn al-Balūshī, who critically edited al-Nasāʾī's *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, has thoroughly documented the isnāds of this ḥadīth.[852] One notable point that draws our attention is this: if the transmission routes of a ḥadīth reach the level of *tawātur* (overwhelmingly numerous transmission), the ḥadīth is to be accepted. This is because the transmitters of a *mutawātir* report are not individually subjected to scrutiny in terms of *jarḥ* (discrediting) or *taʿdīl* (accreditation). However, it is observed that when a ḥadīth concerns the *Ahl al-Bayt* or one of their members, some individuals begin to examine the transmitters one by one, striving to find flaws in each. Even if no defect is found, they sometimes reject the transmission simply by noting that a certain transmitter is a Shīʿī, or they declare the ḥadīth weak on that basis.

Some Ahl al-Sunnah scholars have been led to this approach out of concern that, should such ḥadīths be deemed *ṣaḥīḥ*, they might place ʿAlī in a position of superiority in merit over Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. Meanwhile, the Shīʿah claim that these ḥadīths are evidence that the Messenger of God ﷺ explicitly appointed ʿAlī as his successor. We have previously touched on this issue. At this point, we wish to express that we do not share these concerns. We believe that both excess and deficiency in such matters harm the Muslim community. A ḥadīth that is weak does not become strengthened if one or more of the transmitters in the chain of narration are among those known to fabricate ḥadīths, or are known to lie even in ordinary worldly matters, then that ḥadīth cannot be strengthened. Apart from this exception, a ḥadīth with a weak chain of transmission may be strengthened by another corroborating transmission [for the same ḥadīth] . If a weak ḥadīth is elevated to the level of *ḥasan li-ghayrih* (good due to supporting evidence), then a ḥadīth that is originally *ḥasan* (good) may, through additional support, be elevated to the level of *ṣaḥīḥ li-ghayrihi* (authentic due to supporting evidence).

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[852] Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *Khaṣāʾiṣ ʿAlī*, 96–108.

The proclamation of sūrat al-Barā'ah: When sūrat al-Barā'a was revealed, it was commanded that someone from the Prophet's *Ahl al-Bayt* (Household) should be sent to proclaim it to the pilgrims. For this reason, he sent ʿAlī.

The ḥadīth of Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh:

عَنْ جَابِرٍ: « أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ حِينَ رَجَعَ مِنْ عُمْرَةِ الْجِعِرَّانَةِ، بَعَثَ أَبَا بَكْرٍ عَلَى الْحَجِّ. فَأَقْبَلْنَا مَعَهُ. حَتَّى إِذَا كُنَّا بِالْعَرْجِ ثَوَّبَ بِالصُّبْحِ، ثُمَّ اسْتَوَى لِيُكَبِّرَ. فَسَمِعَ الرَّغْوَةَ خَلْفَ ظَهْرِهِ. فَوَقَفَ عَنِ التَّكْبِيرِ، فَقَالَ: هَذِهِ رَغْوَةُ نَاقَةِ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. لَقَدْ بَدَا لِرَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فِي الْحَجِّ. فَلَعَلَّهُ أَنْ يَكُونَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، فَنُصَلِّي مَعَهُ. فَإِذَا عَلِيٌّ عَلَيْهَا. فَقَالَ لَهُ أَبُو بَكْرٍ: أَمِيرٌ، أَمْ رَسُولٌ ؟ فَقَالَ: لاَ، بَلْ رَسُولٌ. أَرْسَلَنِي رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بِبَرَاءَةَ أَقْرَؤُهَا عَلَى النَّاسِ فِي مَوَاقِفِ الْحَجِّ. فَقَدِمْنَا مَكَّةَ. فَلَمَّا كَانَ قَبْلَ التَّرْوِيَةِ بِيَوْمٍ، قَامَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ، فَخَطَبَ النَّاسَ، فَحَدَّثَهُمْ عَنْ مَنَاسِكِهِمْ. حَتَّى إِذَا فَرَغَ، قَامَ عَلِيٌّ، فَقَرَأَ عَلَى النَّاسِ بَرَاءَةَ حَتَّى خَتَمَهَا. ثُمَّ خَرَجْنَا مَعَهُ. حَتَّى إِذَا كَانَ يَوْمُ عَرَفَةَ، قَامَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ فَخَطَبَ النَّاسَ. فَحَدَّثَهُمْ عَنْ مَنَاسِكِهِمْ. حَتَّى إِذَا فَرَغَ، قَامَ عَلِيٌّ، فَقَرَأَ عَلَى النَّاسِ بَرَاءَةَ حَتَّى خَتَمَهَا. ثُمَّ خَرَجْنَا مَعَهُ. ثُمَّ كَانَ يَوْمُ النَّحْرِ فَأ. فَلَمَّا فَرَغَ قَامَ عَلِيٌّ، فَقَرَأَ عَلَى النَّاسِ بَرَاءَةَ حَتَّى خَتَمَهَا. فَلَمَّا كَانَ يَوْمُ النَّفْرِ الأَوَّلُ، قَامَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ، فَخَطَبَ النَّاسَ. فَحَدَّثَهُمْ كَيْفَ يَنْفِرُونَ، وَكَيْفَ يَرْمُونَ. فَعَلَّمَهُمْ مَنَاسِكَهُمْ. فَلَمَّا فَرَغَ قَامَ عَلِيٌّ، فَقَرَأَ بَرَاءَةَ عَلَى النَّاسِ حَتَّى خَتَمَهَا ».

Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh reported, saying: The Prophet ﷺ sent Abū Bakr to Makkah for the Hajj after returning from the Umrah at Jiʿrānah.[853] While traveling with him, we stopped at a place called *al-Aʿraj* to perform

[853] Makkah was conquered in the month of Ramaḍān; the ʿUmrah of *Jiʿrānah* occurred in Shawwāl; and two months later came the *ḥajj* season. The first *ḥajj* in Islam was performed under the supervision of Abū Bakr.

the Fajr prayer. Just as Abū Bakr was about to say the *takbīr* [saying "Allāhu Akbar"], he heard the sound from a camel behind him. He refrained from saying the *takbīr* and thought to himself, "This sound belongs to the camel of the Messenger of God ﷺ. Something must have happened regarding the Hajj, and perhaps the Messenger of God has arrived." He looked back and saw the camel, and sure enough, the Prophet was riding the camel. Abū Bakr asked, "Did you come as an emir (leader) or as an envoy (messenger)?" ʿAlī replied, "I have come as an envoy. The Prophet ﷺ sent me to announce the revelation of sūrat al-Barāʾa at the stations of the Hajj." Upon reaching Makkah, the day before the day of Tarwīyah, Abū Bakr stood up to deliver a sermon, in which he explained the rites of Hajj to the people. After completing his sermon, ʿAlī stood up and recited the entire sūrat al-Barāʾah to the people. When they arrived at Arafat, Abū Bakr again delivered a sermon, explaining the rites of Hajj to the people. After finishing his sermon, ʿAlī stood up and recited the entire sūrat al-Barāʾah again. They continued on, and when they reached the day of sacrifice, Abū Bakr stood up once more and gave a sermon in Muzdalifah, explaining how the people should proceed to Miná and how they would perform the rites of sacrifice. After he finished his sermon, ʿAlī stood and recited the entire sūrat al-Barāʾah once more. On the first day of departure from Miná, Abū Bakr again gave a sermon, explaining to the people how to throw the pebbles and how to proceed with the departure from Miná. Once he finished, ʿAlī stood and recited the entire sūrat al-Barāʾah again. [854]

The narration of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās:

عَنِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ قَالَ: بَعَثَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَبَا بَكْرٍ، وَأَمَرَهُ أَنْ يُنَادِيَ بِهَؤُلاَءِ الكَلِمَاتِ، ثُمَّ أَتْبَعَهُ عَلِيًّا. فَبَيْنَا أَبُو بَكْرٍ فِي بَعْضِ الطَّرِيقِ إِذْ

[854] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 6:81 #4655, #4656 from Abū Hurayrah; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 5:178 #3061 from ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 4:147 #3970, 7:436 #8409; *al-Sunan al-ṣughrá (al-Mujtabá)*, 5:247 #2993; *Khaṣāʾiṣ ʿAlī*, 93 #75–#78; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:19 #6645; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 5:111 #9707; ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dārimī, *al-Sunan*, 2:1218 #1956; Ibn Khuzaymah Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4:319 #2974; Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, 9:222 #3590.

سَمِعَ رُغَاءَ نَاقَةِ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ القَصْوَاءِ. فَخَرَجَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ فَزِعًا. فَظَنَّ أَنَّهُ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، فَإِذَا هُوَ عَلِيٌّ. فَدَفَعَ إِلَيْهِ كِتَابَ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، وَأَمَرَ عَلِيًّا أَنْ يُنَادِيَ بِهَؤُلاَءِ الكَلِمَاتِ. فَانْطَلَقَا فَحَجَّا. فَقَامَ عَلِيٌّ أَيَّامَ التَّشْرِيقِ، فَنَادَى: ذِمَّةُ اللهِ وَرَسُولِهِ بَرِيئَةٌ مِنْ كُلِّ مُشْرِكٍ. فَسِيحُوا فِي الأَرْضِ أَرْبَعَةَ أَشْهُرٍ. وَلاَ يَحُجَّنَّ بَعْدَ العَامِ مُشْرِكٌ. وَلاَ يَطُوفَنَّ بِالبَيْتِ عُرْيَانٌ. وَلاَ يَدْخُلُ الجَنَّةَ إِلاَّ مُؤْمِنٌ. وَكَانَ عَلِيٌّ يُنَادِي ، فَإِذَا عَيِيَ قَامَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ فَنَادَى بِهَا.

The Prophet ﷺ sent Abū Bakr to announce these words to the people (on the Ḥajj). Then he dispatched ʿAlī after him. While Abū Bakr was still on the road, he heard the sound of al-Qaṣwā', the she-camel of the Messenger of God ﷺ. Thinking that the Messenger of God ﷺ himself had come, he anxiously went out, only to see that it was ʿAlī. ʿAlī handed him a letter from the Messenger of God ﷺ in which he was commanded to proclaim these words (particular matters) to the people. They continued on their way and performed the Ḥajj. During the days of *al-tashrīq*, he proclaimed with a loud voice and made known the following matters to the people: God and His messenger are free from obligation to the polytheists. (The polytheists are no longer under the protection of God and His messenger.) You may travel wherever you wish for four months. After this year, no polytheist shall perform the Ḥajj. From now on, no one may circumambulate the Kaʿbah while naked. Those who do not believe shall not enter Paradise. ʿAlī was the one proclaiming these matters aloud. When ʿAlī grew weary, Abū Bakr would rise and proclaim them to the people. [855]

The ḥadīth of Zayd ibn Yusayʿ:

[855] Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 5:126 #3091; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 10:93 #11960; *al-Awsaṭ*, 1:284 #928; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:51 #4375; Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, 9:218 #3585; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 9:224 #19293; *Dalāʾil al-nubūwah*, 5:296.

عَنْ زَيْدِ بْنِ يُثَيْعٍ قَالَ: سَأَلْنَا عَلِيًّا بِأَيِّ شَيْءٍ بُعِثْتَ فِي الحَجَّةِ ؟ قَالَ: « بُعِثْتُ بِأَرْبَعٍ: أَنْ لاَ يَطُوفَ بِالبَيْتِ عُرْيَانٌ. وَمَنْ كَانَ بَيْنَهُ وَبَيْنَ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَهْدٌ فَهُوَ إِلَى مُدَّتِهِ. وَمَنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ عَهْدٌ فَأَجَلُهُ أَرْبَعَةُ أَشْهُرٍ. وَلاَ يَدْخُلُ الجَنَّةَ إِلاَّ نَفْسٌ مُؤْمِنَةٌ. وَلاَ يَجْتَمِعُ الْمُشْرِكُونَ وَالمُسْلِمُونَ بَعْدَ عَامِهِمْ هَذَا.»

Zayd ibn Yusayʿ said: We asked ʿAlī, "For what were you sent to the Ḥajj (to proclaim)?" He replied, "I was sent for four things: After this, no one may circumambulate the House (the Kaʿbah) while naked. Polytheists who have a treaty with the Messenger of God ﷺ shall be permitted until their term expires. Those who have no treaty, their term is four months. It must be known that those who do not believe shall not enter Paradise. From now on, Muslims and polytheists shall not be together at the Ḥajj." [856]

The Messenger of God ﷺ after slaughtering sixty-three sacrificial animals during the Ḥajj, had thirty-seven slaughtered by ʿAlī:

The relevant part of the ḥadīth of Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh that gives a lengthy account of the Ḥajj is as follows:

«ثُمَّ انْصَرَفَ إِلَى الْمَنْحَرِ. فَنَحَرَ ثَلاَثًا وَسِتِّينَ بِيَدِهِ، ثُمَّ أَعْطَى عَلِيًّا فَنَحَرَ مَا غَبَرَ. وَأَشْرَكَهُ فِي هَدْيِهِ. ثُمَّ أَمَرَ مِنْ كُلِّ بَدَنَةٍ بِبَضْعَةٍ، فَجُعِلَتْ فِي قِدْرٍ، فَطُبِخَتْ. فَأَكَلاَ مِنْ لَحْمِهَا، وَشَرِبَا مِنْ مَرَقِهَا ».

Jābir said: Then the Messenger of God ﷺ went to the place where the sacrificial animals were to be slaughtered. With his own hand, he slaughtered sixty-three camels. Then he handed the knife to ʿAlī, and ʿAlī slaughtered the remainder (of the one hundred camels). In this way, he made him a partner in the act of sacrifice. He commanded that a

[856] Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 5:127 #3092; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 2:32 #594; ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr al-Ḥumaydī, *al-Musnad*, 1:57 #53; ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dārimī, *al-Sunan*, 2:94 #1919; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 1:351 #452; Muḥammad ibn Naṣr al-Marwazī, *Taʿẓīm qadr al-ṣalāh*, 2:620 #667, 668; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:54 #4376; Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubūwah*, 5:297.

piece of meat from each sacrifice be taken and cooked in a pot. After the meat was cooked, they together ate from it and drank from its broth.[857]

The last person to see the Prophet ﷺ on the day of his death was ʿAlī:

عَنْ أُمِّ سَلَمَةَ قَالَتْ: « وَالَّذِي أَحْلِفُ بِهِ. إِنْ كَانَ عَلِيٌّ لأَقْرَبَ النَّاسِ عَهْدًا بِرَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. قَالَتْ: عُدْنَا رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ غَدَاةً بَعْدَ غَدَاةٍ . يَقُولُ: جَاءَ عَلِيٌّ ؟ مِرَارًا. قَالَتْ: وَأَظُنُّهُ كَانَ بَعَثَهُ فِي حَاجَةٍ. قَالَتْ: فَجَاءَ بَعْدُ، فَظَنَنْتُ أَنَّ لَهُ إِلَيْهِ حَاجَةً. فَخَرَجْنَا مِنَ الْبَيْتِ، فَقَعَدْنَا عِنْدَ الْبَابِ. فَكُنْتُ مِنْ أَدْنَاهُمْ إِلَى الْبَابِ. فَأَكَبَّ عَلَيْهِ عَلِيّ، فَجَعَلَ يُسَارُّهُ وَيُنَاجِيهِ. ثُمَّ قُبِضَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مِنْ يَوْمِهِ ذَلِكَ. فَكَانَ أَقْرَبَ النَّاسِ بِهِ عَهْدًا ».

Umm Salamah narrated: "By God, in whose name I swear, the last person to see the Messenger of God ﷺ was ʿAlī. During his illness, we would visit the Messenger of God ﷺ each morning. He repeatedly asked, 'Has ʿAlī come?' I suppose he had sent him somewhere for some task. Shortly thereafter, ʿAlī came. I assumed that they needed to speak privately, so we left the house. We sat by the door. I was the one sitting closest to it. He (ʿAlī) leaned over him, spoke with him confidentially, and he (the Prophet) prayed for him. That very day, the Messenger of God ﷺ passed away. The last person to see him was ʿAlī." [858]

At Khaybar, the standard was given to ʿAlī, and Khaybar was conquered by his hand: The ḥadīth of Salamah ibn al-Akwaʿ: Salamah

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[857] Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 2:886 #1218; Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath, *al-Sunan*, 2:122 #1907; Ibn Mājah Muḥammad ibn Yazīd, *al-Sunan*, 4:261 #3074; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 1:260 #2359; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 9:327 #4018; ʿAbd ibn Ḥumayd, *al-Muntakhab*, 343 #1135; ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dārimī, *al-Sunan*, 2:67 #1850; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 3:794 #14925.

[858] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 6:300 #26565; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:686 #1171; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 12:57 #32729; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 6:257 #6934; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:138 #4671.

ibn al-Akwaʿ said: He did not participate in the expedition to Khaybar because he had an eye ailment. But ʿAlī said to himself, "Will I not be with the Messenger of God ﷺ?" So he set out and caught up with the Messenger of God ﷺ. On the night before the the conquest of Khaybar, the Messenger of God ﷺ said: "Tomorrow I will give the standard to a man whom God and His messenger love." ʿAlī came forth. We had not expected his arrival. They said, "This is ʿAlī." The Messenger of God ﷺ gave him the standard. Khaybar was conquered by his hand. [859]

The ḥadīth of Sahl ibn Saʿd:

عَنْ أَبِي حَازِمٍ قَالَ: أَخْبَرَنِي سَهْلُ بْنُ سَعْدٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. أَنّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ يَوْمَ خَيْبَرَ: « لَأُعْطِيَنَّ هَذِهِ الرَّايَةَ غَدًا رَجُلاً يَفْتَحُ اللَّهُ عَلَى يَدَيْهِ. يُحِبُّ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ، وَيُحِبُّهُ اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ. قَالَ: فَبَاتَ النَّاسُ يَدُوكُونَ لَيْلَتَهُمْ أَيُّهُمْ يُعْطَاهَا. فَلَمَّا أَصْبَحَ النَّاسُ، غَدَوْا عَلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ كُلُّهُمْ يَرْجُو أَنْ يُعْطَاهَا. فَقَالَ: أَيْنَ عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ؟ فَقِيلَ: هُوَ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ، يَشْتَكِي عَيْنَيْهِ. قَالَ: فَأَرْسَلُوا إِلَيْهِ، فَأُتِيَ بِهِ. فَبَصَقَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فِي عَيْنَيْهِ. وَدَعَا لَهُ فَبَرَأَ، حَتَّى كَأَنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ بِهِ وَجَعٌ. فَأَعْطَاهُ الرَّايَةَ. فَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ، أُقَاتِلُهُمْ حَتَّى يَكُونُوا مِثْلَنَا ؟ فَقَالَ: انْفُذْ عَلَى رِسْلِكَ حَتَّى تَنْزِلَ بِسَاحَتِهِمْ. ثُمَّ ادْعُهُمْ إِلَى الْإِسْلاَمِ. وَأَخْبِرْهُمْ بِمَا يَجِبُ عَلَيْهِمْ مِنْ حَقِّ اللَّهِ فِيهِ. فَوَاللَّهِ لاَنْ يَهْدِيَ اللَّهُ بِكَ رَجُلًا وَاحِدًا خَيْرٌ لَكَ مِنْ أَنْ يَكُونَ لَكَ حُمْرُ النَّعَمِ ».

Abū Hāzim said: Sahl ibn Saʿd narrated to me: On the day of the expedition to Khaybar, the Messenger of God ﷺ said: "I shall give the standard to a man who loves God and His messenger, whom God and His messenger love, and through whose hand Khaybar will be conquered." That night, everyone was wondering to whom the standard would be given. When morning came, the entire company of Companions came to the Messenger of God ﷺ each of them hoping to

[859] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 4:64 #2975, 5:23 #3702, 5:171 #4209; Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 4:1872 #2407.

be the one to receive the standard. The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "Where is ʿAlī?" They replied: "He is over there, suffering from an eye ailment." A message was sent to him, and he was brought. The Messenger of God ﷺ applied his saliva to his eyes and prayed for his recovery. His eyes were healed instantly, as though they had never been ill. He gave him the standard. ʿAlī then asked: "Shall I fight them until they become like us (i.e., until they become Muslim)?" He replied: "Proceed until you reach their territory. Then invite them to Islam and inform them of the right of God over them. By God, if God guides even one man through you, it is better for you than having red camels." [860]

The narration of Abū Hurayrah in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* is as follows:

عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ، أَنّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ يَوْمَ خَيْبَرَ: « لأُعْطِيَنَّ هَذِهِ الرَّايَةَ رَجُلاً يُحِبُّ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ، يَفْتَحُ اللَّهُ عَلَى يَدَيْهِ. قَالَ عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ: مَا أَحْبَبْتُ الإِمَارَةَ إِلاَّ يَوْمَئِذٍ. قَالَ: فَتَسَاوَرْتُ لَهَا رَجَاءَ أَنْ أُدْعَى لَهَا. قَالَ: فَدَعَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَلِيَّ بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، فَأَعْطَاهُ إِيَّاهَا، وَقَالَ: امْشِ وَلاَ تَلْتَفِتْ حَتَّى يَفْتَحَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْكَ. قَالَ: فَسَارَ عَلِيٌّ شَيْئاً، ثُمَّ وَقَفَ وَلَمْ يَلْتَفِتْ، فَصَرَخَ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ، عَلَى مَاذَا أُقَاتِلُ النَّاسَ؟ قَالَ: قَاتِلْهُمْ حَتَّى يَشْهَدُوا أَنْ لاَ إِلَهَ إِلاَّ اللَّهُ، وَأَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ. فَإِذَا فَعَلُوا ذَلِكَ فَقَدْ مَنَعُوا مِنْكَ دِمَاءَهُمْ، وَأَمْوَالَهُمْ، إِلاَّ بِحَقِّهَا. وَحِسَابُهُمْ عَلَى اللَّهِ ».

Abū Hurayrah narrated: On the day of the expedition to Khaybar, the Messenger of God ﷺ said: "I shall give the standard to a man who loves God and His messenger, and through whose hand God shall conquer Khaybar." ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said: "I never wished to be appointed as a commander before, but I desired it on that day, because the one to receive the standard would be a man who loves God and His messenger." ʿUmar continued: "I stepped forward hoping to receive it. But the Messenger of God ﷺ called ʿAlī and gave him the standard, saying: 'Go forth and do not turn back until God grants you victory at your hand'." ʿAlī proceeded a little, then paused and, without turning

[860] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 5:171 #4210; Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 4:1871 #2405.

around, called out in a loud voice: "O, Messenger of God, for what shall I fight these people?" The Messenger of God said: "Fight them until they testify that there is no deity but God and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God. If they say that, then their wealth and their blood are protected from you, except for that which is due from it (i.e., zakāt and other legal claims). Their inner state is left to God." [861]

The narration of the freed slave of the Messenger of God, Abū Rāfiʿ, is as follows:

عَنْ أَبِي رَافِعٍ مَوْلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: «خَرَجْنَا مَعَ عَلِيٍّ حِينَ بَعَثَهُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بِرَايَتِهِ. فَلَمَّا دَنَا مِنَ الْحِصْنِ خَرَجَ إِلَيْهِ أَهْلُهُ، فَقَاتَلَهُمْ. فَضَرَبَهُ رَجُلٌ مِنْ يَهُودَ، فَطَرَحَ تُرْسَهُ مِنْ يَدِهِ. فَتَنَاوَلَ عَلِيٌّ بَابًا كَانَ عِنْدَ الْحِصْنِ، فَتَرَّسَ بِهِ نَفْسَهُ. فَلَمْ يَزَلْ فِي يَدِهِ وَهُوَ يُقَاتِلُ، حَتَّى فَتَحَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ. ثُمَّ أَلْقَاهُ مِنْ يَدِهِ حِينَ فَرَغَ. فَلَقَدْ رَأَيْتُنِي فِي نَفَرٍ مَعِي سَبْعَةٌ أَنَا ثَامِنُهُمْ، نَجْهَدُ عَلَى أَنْ نَقْلِبَ ذَلِكَ الْبَابَ، فَمَا نَقْلِبُهُ ».

The freedman of the Messenger of God, Abū Rāfiʿ, said: When the Messenger of God ﷺ gave his standard to ʿAlī and sent him forth, we accompanied him. As we approached the fortress, its inhabitants (the Jews of Khaybar) came out to confront us. ʿAlī fought them. One of the Jews struck him and caused his shield to fall from his hand. ʿAlī then took hold of a door that was by the fortress and used it as a shield. With it he continued to fight until God conquered the fortress through him. When he finished, he cast the door aside. Seven of us, myself being the eighth, tried to turn that door from one side to the other, but we were unable to do so. [862]

At Khaybar, after the Messenger of God ﷺ had applied his saliva to ʿAlī's eyes, his eyes never again suffered illness for the rest of his life:

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[861] Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 7:121 #6375.

[862] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 39:283 #23858; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubūwah*, 4:212; Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 3:13.

عَنْ أُمِّ مُوسَى قَالَتْ: سَمِعْتُ عَلِيًّا يَقُولُ: « مَا رَمِدْتُ، وَلاَ صُدِعْتُ مُنْذُ مَسَحَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم وَجْهِي، وَتَفَلَ فِي عَيْنَيَّ يَوْمَ خَيْبَرَ حِينَ أَعْطَانِي الرَّايَةَ.

His servant Umm Mūṣá reported: I heard ʿAlī say: "After the Messenger of God ﷺ placed his hand on my face and, at Khaybar, gave me the standard and applied his saliva to my eyes, I have never experienced eye pain or suffered from a headache." [863]

ʿAlī did not feel heat or cold:

عَنْ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ أَبِي لَيْلَى قَالَ: كَانَ أَبِي يَسْمُرُ مَعَ عَلِيٍّ. وَكَانَ عَلِيٌّ يَلْبَسُ ثِيَابَ الصَّيْفِ فِي الشِّتَاءِ ، وَثِيَابَ الشِّتَاءِ فِي الصَّيْفِ. فَقِيلَ لَهُ: لَوْ سَأَلْتَهُ ؟ فَسَأَلَهُ. فَقَالَ: « إِنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بَعَثَ إِلَيَّ وَأَنَا أَرْمَدُ الْعَيْنِ يَوْمَ خَيْبَرَ. فَقُلْتُ: يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ، إِنِّي أَرْمَدُ الْعَيْنِ. قَالَ: فَتَفَلَ فِي عَيْنِي وَقَالَ: اللَّهُمَّ أَذْهِبْ عَنْهُ الْحَرَّ وَالْبَرْدَ. فَمَا وَجَدْتُ حَرًّا وَلا بَرْدًا مُنْذُ يَوْمِئِذٍ. وَقَالَ: لَأُعْطِيَنَّ الرَّايَةَ رَجُلاً يُحِبُّ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ، وَيُحِبُّهُ اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ. لَيْسَ بِفَرَّارٍ. فَتَشَرَّفَ لَهَا أَصْحَابُ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، فَأَعْطَانِيهَا ».

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Laylá reported: My father (Abū Laylá) used to attend night gatherings. ʿAlī would wear summer clothes in winter and winter clothes in summer. People said to my father, "Why do you not ask him about this?" So he asked him. ʿAlī replied: "During the expedition of Khaybar, the Messenger of God ﷺ sent for me. My eye was ailing. I said, 'O, Messenger of God, my eye is ill.' He applied his saliva to my eye and supplicated: 'O, God, remove from him heat and cold.' Since that day, I have not felt heat or cold." He then said: "The Prophet ﷺ said: 'I shall give the standard to one who loves God and His

[863] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 1:78 #579; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:579 #980; Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī, *al-Musnad*, 1:114 #185; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 1:295 #593; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 13:152 #13835; Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tahdhīb al-āthār*, 4:252 #1519; al-Maqdisī Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, *al-Aḥādīth al-mukhtārah*, 2:422 #810, 2:423 #811.

messenger, and whom God and His messenger love, a man who does not flee.' The Companions of the Prophet ﷺ prepared themselves in hopes of receiving the standard. But it was given to me." [864]

At the Battle of Badr and in other expeditions as well, it was always ʿAlī who carried the standard of the Prophet ﷺ:

عَنْ مِقْسَمٍ قَالَ: لاَ أَعْلَمُهُ إِلاَّ عَنِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ: « أَنَّ رَايَةَ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَعَ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ. وَرَايَةَ الأَنْصَارِ مَعَ سَعْدِ بْنِ عُبَادَةَ. وَكَانَ إِذَا اسْتَحَرَّ الْقَتْلُ، كَانَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مِمَّا يَكُونَ تَحْتَ رَايَةِ الأَنْصَارِ. »

Miqsam said: "I only learned this from ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās. The flag of the Messenger of God ﷺ was carried by ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, and the flag of the Anṣār was carried by Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah. When the battle became intense, the Messenger of God ﷺ would be under the flag of the Anṣār."

According to the narration of al-Ṭabarānī: "In all the battles, the flag of the Muhājirūn was carried by ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, and the flag of the Anṣār was carried by Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah." [865]

The Messenger of God ﷺ said to ʿAlī: "I will fight for the revelation (*tanzīl*) of the Qurʾān, and you will fight for its interpretation (*taʾwīl*):"

عَنْ أَبِي سَعِيدٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ قَالَ: كُنَّا مَعَ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، فَانْقَطَعَتْ نَعْلُهُ. فَتَخَلَّفَ عَلِيٌّ يَخْصِفُهَا. فَمَشَى قَلِيلاً ثُمَّ قَالَ: إِنَّ مِنْكُمْ مَنْ يُقَاتِلُ عَلَى تَأْوِيلِ الْقُرْآنِ كَمَا قَاتَلْتُ عَلَى تَنْزِيلِهِ. فَاسْتَشْرَفَ لَهَا الْقَوْمُ، وَفِيهِمْ أَبُو بَكْرٍ وَعُمَرُ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا. قَالَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ: أَنَا هُوَ؟ قَالَ: لاَ. قَالَ عُمَرُ:

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[864] Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Mājah, *al-Sunan*, 1:84 #117; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 1:99 #778; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:564 #950, 2:637 #1084; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:463 #8483; *Khaṣāʾiṣ ʿAlī*, 159 #151; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, 2:380 #2286, 4:132 #3796.

[865] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 1:368 #3486; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:797 #1427; ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, 5:288 #9640; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 5:251 #5218; ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah*, 2:186; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Suhaylī, *al-Rawḍ al-unuf*, 5:89.

أَنَا هُوَ؟ قَالَ: لاَ، وَلَكِنْ خَاصِفُ النَّعْلِ. يَعْنِي عَلِيًّا. فَأَتَيْنَاهُ فَبَشَّرْنَاهُ ، فَلَمْ يَرْفَعْ بِهِ رَأْسَهُ. كَأَنَّهُ قَدْ كَانَ سَمِعَهُ مِنْ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ.

Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī narrated, saying: "We were with the Messenger of God ﷺ. His shoe became torn, and ʿAlī repaired it, causing him to fall behind. After walking for a while, the Messenger of God ﷺ said: 'Just as I fight for the revelation (*tanzīl*) of the Qurʾān, one of you will fight for its interpretation (*taʾwīl*)'."

The group, including Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, all hoped that it would be them. Abū Bakr asked: "Am I the one?" The Messenger of God ﷺ replied, "No." ʿUmar asked: "Am I the one?" He replied, "No." Then, pointing to ʿAlī, he said: "It is the one who repaired the shoe." We went to give him this good news, but he did not raise his head, as if he had already heard the words from the Messenger of God ﷺ.[866]

The Messenger of God ﷺ ordered that all the doors to the mosque be closed except for the door of ʿAlī.

The narration of Zayd ibn Arqam follows:

عَنْ زَيْدِ بْنِ أَرْقَمَ قَالَ: «كَانَ لِنَفَرٍ مِنْ أَصْحَابِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَبْوَابٌ شَارِعَةٌ فِي الْمَسْجِدِ. فَقَالَ يَوْمًا: سُدُّوا هَذِهِ الْأَبْوَابَ إِلاَّ بَابَ عَلِيٍّ. قَالَ: فَتَكَلَّمَ فِي ذَلِكَ أُنَاسٌ. قَالَ: فَقَامَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَحَمِدَ اللَّهَ، وَأَثْنَى عَلَيْهِ، ثُمَّ قَالَ: أَمَّا بَعْدُ، فَإِنِّي أُمِرْتُ بِسَدِّ هَذِهِ الْأَبْوَابِ غَيْرَ بَابِ عَلِيٍّ. فَقَالَ فِيهِ قَائِلُكُمْ. وَإِنِّي مَا سَدَدْتُ شَيْئًا وَلاَ فَتَحْتُهُ، وَلَكِنِّي أُمِرْتُ بِشَيْءٍ فَاتَّبَعْتُهُ. »

Zayd ibn Arqam narrated, saying: "Some of the companions of the Messenger of God ﷺ had doors opening into the mosque. One day, the

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866 Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 3:31 #11258, 18:295 #11773; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:627 #1071, 2:637 #1083; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:466 #8488; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:385 #6937; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 2:29 #1086; Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, 10:276 #4087; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:122 #4621.

Messenger of God ﷺ said: 'Close all the doors except for the door of 'Alī.' Some of them discussed this matter. Upon hearing this, the Messenger of God ﷺ stood up, praised and thanked God, and then said: 'I was commanded to close all the doors except for the door of 'Alī. You have spoken about this matter. I did not close or open anything on my own; I simply carried out the command that was given to me'." [867]

The narration of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās follows:

عَنِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ : « أَمَرَ بِسَدِّ الأَبْوَابِ إِلاَّ بَابَ عَلِيٍّ. »

'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās said: "The Messenger of God ﷺ commanded that all doors opening into the mosque be closed, except for the door of 'Alī."[868]

Analysis of this Ḥadīth: From our research, we have concluded that this ḥadīth is either authentic (*ṣaḥīḥ*) or at least good (*ḥasan*). We have taken the narrations of Zayd ibn Arqam and 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās. Furthermore, this ḥadīth has also been narrated by Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar, Barā' ibn 'Āzib, Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh, Jābir ibn Samurah, Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, and Buraydah ibn al-Ḥaṣīb. The ruling of Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Taymīyah, who considered it *mawḍū'* (fabricated), is invalid. [869] None of the narrators in the chains of transmission of this ḥadīth are considered fabricators. The reason they deemed it fabricated is because it contradicts the narration found in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, which states: "Close all the small openings (*hehā*) except for Abū Bakr's." What is "*hehā*"? Ibn al-Athīr in his *al-Nihāya* describes "*hehā*" as a small door or opening in the

[867] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 4:369 #19287; *Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:581 #985; Aḥmad ibn Shu'ayb al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:423 #8369; *Khaṣā'iṣ 'Alī*, 59 #38; Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Abū Ja'far al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, 9:189 #3561; Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:125 #463.

[868] Muḥammad ibn 'Īsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 6:90 #3732; Aḥmad ibn Shu'ayb al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:424 #8373, #8374; *Khaṣā'iṣ 'Alī*, 63 #42; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, 10:247 #12429; Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Abū Ja'far al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, 9:186–187 #3555, #3557.

[869] Abū al-Faraj 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Mawḍū'āt*, 1:365.

wall, similar to a large window.[870] Ibn Ḥajar also defines "*hehā*" as: "A window in the wall for light, which does not have to be high. It allows passage to another space or area. When it is closed, it is referred to as 'bab' (door)."

From these narrations, it can be understood that some people had opened doors or small passages from their homes or streets into the Prophet's Mosque to make it easier to enter. Near his death, the Messenger of God ﷺ ordered, "Close all doors except for the door of ʿAlī." From the following ḥadīth, it becomes clear that only the door of his house opened into the mosque. Since the rooms of the Prophet's wives were at the rear of the house, there was no possibility to open a door leading to the street. Therefore, the entrances and exits for ʿAlī and Fāṭimah could only be through the mosque. In the ḥadīth narrated in both *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, which is agreed upon by both, the Messenger of God ﷺ commanded: "Close all the small openings (*hehā*) except for the one of Abū Bakr." Here, a distinction is made between a door (*bāb*) and a small opening (*hehā*).

Regarding this, some have argued, from the perspective of superiority of Abū Bakr and ʿAlī, that the ḥadīth concerning ʿAlī was fabricated by the Rāfiḍīs without a valid chain of transmission. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, in his *Fath al-bārī* and *al-Qawl al-muṣaddad fī al-Dhabb an musnad Aḥmad*, while narrating the chain of transmission of the ḥadīths, clarified that a *bāb* (door) and a *hehā* (small opening) are not the same. He affirmed that both ḥadīths are authentic (*ṣaḥīḥ*) and criticized Ibn al-Jawzī for his erroneous ruling that the ḥadīth was fabricated (*mawḍūʿ*). Due to the length of his explanation, we will not quote it in full, but those interested can refer to it for further details. Similarly, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, following Ibn Ḥajar's reasoning, concluded that the ḥadīth is not fabricated (*mawḍūʿ*). He also collected all the chains of transmission of this ḥadīth and presented them comprehensively.[871]

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[870] Ibn al-Athīr al-Mubārak ibn Muḥammad al-Jazarī, *al-Nihāyah fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa-al-athar*, 2:87.

[871] Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, 7:15; *al-Qawl al-musaddad fī al-dhabb ʿan musnad Aḥmad*, 6–21; Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *al-Laʾālīʾ al-maṣnūʿah fī al-aḥādīth al-mawḍūʿah*, 1:318; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mubārakfūrī, *Tuhfat al-aḥwadhī*, 9:143.

It has been permitted for ʿAlī to pass through the mosque while in a state of ritual impurity (*junub*):

عَنْ أَبِي سَعِيدٍ قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ لِعَلِيٍّ: « يَا عَلِيُّ لاَ يَحِلُّ لأَحَدٍ يُجْنِبُ فِي هَذَا الْمَسْجِدِ غَيْرِي وَغَيْرِكَ . » قَالَ عَلِيُّ بْنُ الْمُنْذِرِ: قُلْتُ لِضِرَارِ بْنِ صُرَدٍ: مَا مَعْنَى هَذَا الحَدِيثِ ؟ قَالَ: لاَ يَحِلُّ لأَحَدٍ يَسْتَطْرِقُهُ جُنُبًا غَيْرِي وَغَيْرِكَ.

Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī narrated: The Messenger of God ﷺ said to ʿAlī: "No one except me and you is permitted to remain in this mosque in a state of ritual impurity (*junub*)." ʿAlī ibn al-Mundhir said: I asked Ḍirār ibn Ṣurad about the meaning of this ḥadīth. He replied: "The meaning is that no one else is permitted to pass through the mosque in a state of impurity (as a pathway), except for me and you." [872]

Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kalābāzī: After narrating the response of Ḍirār ibn Ṣurad to ʿAlī ibn al-Mundhir, al-Tirmidhī wrote: "The Prophet ﷺ had doors opening into the mosque. When they (the Prophet and ʿAlī) would leave their homes in a state of ritual impurity, they would pass through the mosque. The meaning of this is that this was a privilege exclusive to them. Some things were made special for the Prophet ﷺ, and this was one of them. He granted a dispensation to ʿAlī, which he did not give to others. Many people had doors opening into the mosque, but he commanded all but ʿAlī's door to be closed."[873] Ibn Ḥajar, in his *Fath al-bārī* commentary on *Saḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, regarding this ḥadīth he wrote: "If the narrations from the people of Kūfah are authentic, the reconciliation between these two ḥadīths is as follows: The ḥadīth of Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, which is narrated by al-Tirmidhī, mentions that the Prophet ﷺ said: 'No one except me and you may pass through this mosque in a state of ritual impurity.' The meaning of this ḥadīth is that ʿAlī's door opened into the mosque. He had no other door,

[872] Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 6:86 #3727; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 4:36 #1198; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 17:192 #19324; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 2:311 #1042; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:66 #13785.

[873] Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kalābādhī, *Baḥr al-fawāʾid (maʿānī al-akhbār)*, 105.

and therefore, while other doors were to be closed, his was not to be closed." In *Ahkām al-Qur'ān* by Ismāʿīl al-Qādī, a ḥadīth narrated through the chain of Muṭṭalib ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥanṭab is presented, stating that the Prophet ﷺ did not permit anyone else, except ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, to pass through the mosque while in a state of ritual impurity. [874]

The house of Fāṭimah is still known to pilgrims visiting the sacred mosque in Madīnah. The place where the room of the *aṣḥāb al-ṣuffah* is located is behind the rawḍah (the sacred area of the mosque), near the place where the Prophet's grave is. If one walks towards the left of this area and passes behind the blessed grave, they will see an old door with a lock on it. This door is the one that belonged to the house of Fāṭimah, and from here, one can enter the section where the grave of the Prophet ﷺ is situated. The divine wisdom is evident: even today, those who approach the sacred grave of the Prophet ﷺ may pass through the house of Fāṭimah, as if seeking her permission, before entering the sacred area.

ʿAlī is the door to the city of knowledge.

عَنِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: « أَنَا مَدِينَةُ الْعِلْمِ وَعَلِيٌّ بَابُهَا ، فَمَنْ أَرَادَ الْعِلْمَ فَلْيَأْتِهِ مِنْ بَابِهِ ».

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās narrated, saying: The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "I am the city of knowledge, and ʿAlī is its gate. Whoever seeks knowledge should come to its gate." [875]ʿAlī is the gate of the house of wisdom.

عَنْ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: « أَنَا دَارُ الْحِكْمَةِ، وَعَلِيٌّ بَابُهَا. »

Alī narrated, saying: The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "I am the house of wisdom, and ʿAlī is its door."[876]

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[874] Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, 7:15.

[875] Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 9:278 #10898; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:126 #4637, #4638 — from ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās; 3:138 #4639 — from Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh; Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tahdhīb al-āthār*, 4:123 #1415.

[876] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:634 #1081; Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 13:330 #4089; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī,

Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, after narrating this ḥadīth and declaring it authentic, states: ʿAlī narrated: The Prophet ﷺ said: "I am the house of wisdom, and ʿAlī is its gate." Regarding the cause of this narration, it can be said that its chain of transmission (isnād) is authentic. According to the views of others, it should not be considered authentic and must be deemed weak (*saqīm*) for two reasons. First, ʿAlī alone narrated this from the Prophet ﷺ, and there is no other narration from him on this matter. The second reason, according to the scholars of ḥadīth criticism and validation, is that the narration of Salamah ibn Kuhayl is not accepted as evidence. [877] However, Salamah ibn Kuhayl is listed among the narrators of the six canonical books (*al-kutub al-sittah*) and is considered a trustworthy and reliable narrator.

Evaluation of this ḥadīth: There is much disagreement regarding the authenticity of this ḥadīth. Abū al-Faraj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Jawzī claimed that this ḥadīth is fabricated (*mawḍūʿ*). In his book *al-Mawḍuʿāt*, he wrote the following about this ḥadīth: "Ḥadīth number ten: Regarding the city of knowledge. This ḥadīth has been narrated by ʿAlī, Ibn ʿAbbās, and Jābir. There are five chains of transmission for this ḥadīth, and there are ten chains for Ibn ʿAbbās's narration. This ḥadīth has no original source. (It is fabricated)." [878] It is worthy of note that, while mentioning the chains and pointing out their flaws, he does not mention the narrations found in *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah* by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal or those found in *al-Ǧāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ* by al-Tirmidhī. Below, we mention the ḥadīth scholars who have accepted his view. These include Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, and Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī. [879]

Al-Albānī, after examining the chains at length, ultimately shared the opinions of Ibn al-Jawzī and al-Dhahabī. However, this is not a consensus opinion. Many critical ḥadīth scholars have rejected the view that this ḥadīth is fabricated, and they have reached a consensus that it is

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Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ, 1:64; Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī, *al-Sharīʿah*, 4:2069 #1550; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Talkhīṣ al-mutshābih*, 1:129 #305, 1:244 #569.

[877] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tahdhīb al-āthār*, 4:123 #1414.

[878] Abū al-Faraj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Mawḍūʿāt*, 1:349–355.

[879] Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī, *Maʿrifat al-tadhkirah*, 127 #308; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, 1:247 #935, 2:153 #3243; Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, *Silsilat al-aḥādīth al-ḍaʿīfah wa-al-mawḍūʿah*, 6:518–519 #2955.

ḥasan (good). These scholars include Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, Muḥammad Ṭāhir ibn ʿAlī al-Fittanī, Ibn ʿArrāq ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Kinānī, al-Sakhāwī, al-ʿAjlūnī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī.[880]

In this matter, to include all that has been written would lengthen the discussion. Therefore, we will suffice with conveying what was written by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī in his book *al-Laʾālī al-masnūʿah*. Suyūṭī: I say: The ḥadīth was narrated by al-Tirmidhī, and the narration of Ibn ʿAbbās was also transmitted by al-Ḥākim in *al-Mustadrak*. Qāsim ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Anbārī said: I asked Yaḥyá about this ḥadīth, and he said: It is authentic. Al-Khaṭīb said: Yaḥyá meant to say that it is authentic according to Abū Muʿāwīyah's narration, and it is not fabricated. This is because many people have narrated it. Sirāj al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī, while disputing the authenticity of some of the ḥadīths in al-Baghawī's *Masābīḥ*, claimed that this ḥadīth is fabricated. Ḥāfiẓ Salāḥ al-Dīn al-ʿAlāʾī responded to Sirāj al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī's objection. He explicitly stated that he was quoting from his own writings, and he said: "I am the city of knowledge, and ʿAlī is its gate." Abū al-Faraj (Ibn al-Jawzī) in *al-Mawḍuʿāt* listed many chains of this ḥadīth, saying that all of them are certainly fabricated. Subsequently, many others, like al-Dhahabī in *al-Mīzān*, also declared it fabricated. This ḥadīth became well-known through Abū al-Ṣalt ʿAbd al-Salām ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Harawī, who narrated it from Abū Muʿāwīyah, who transmitted it from al-ʿAmash, who narrated it from Mujāhid, who in turn narrated it from Ibn ʿAbbās. The scholars of ḥadīth have had much to say about ʿAbd al-Salām. Neither Abū al-Faraj nor anyone else, while outright rejecting the ḥadīth from the beginning as fabricated, has pointed out any defect in the authenticity of the ḥadīth that would harm its reliability. Ḥāfiẓ al-ʿAlāʾī concluded his statement here.

When the ḥadīth was asked about in a *fatwá* to Shaykh al-Islām Abū al-Fadl ibn Ḥajar, he responded by saying: Al-Ḥākim narrated this

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[880] Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān*, 1:474, 2:465 #1884; Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Shawkānī, *al-Fawāʾid al-majmūʿah fī al-aḥādīth al-mawḍūʿah*, 348 #51–#52; Muḥammad Ṭāhir ibn ʿAlī al-Fattānī, *Tadhkirat al-mawḍūʿāt*, 95; Ibn ʿArrāq ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Kinānī, *Tanzīh al-sharīʿah al-marfūʿah*, 1:377–378 #103; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Maqāṣid al-ḥasanah*, 169 #189; Ismāʿīl ibn Muḥammad al-ʿAjlūnī, *Kashf al-khafāʾ*, 1:203 #618; Aḥmad ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, *al-Fatāwá al-ḥadīthīyah*, 395.

ḥadīth in *al-Mustadrak* and declared it authentic. Abū al-Faraj (Ibn al-Jawzī) opposed this by claiming it was a lie and listed it in *al-Mawḍuʿāt*. The truth is: The view opposed to both of them is correct. The ḥadīth did not reach the level of authenticity, but it is also not a lie. Rather, it is among the *ḥasan* (good) ḥadīths. Explaining this in detail would take time, but this is the trustworthy view. (Ibn Ḥajar's statement concluded.) Similarly, the answer given by Sirāj al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī when he raised objections about the authenticity of some ḥadīths in al-Baghawī's *Masābīḥ* also contains the same point, as I have quoted directly from his writings. [881]

In conclusion, we have stated this ḥadīth because, at the very least, it is considered *ḥasan* (good). We do not accept narrations that are fabricated. A reminder regarding fabricated ḥadīths: Here, it is necessary to clarify an important point. We can say the following: One of the first scholars to compile fabricated (*mawḍūʿ*) ḥadīths was Abū al-Faraj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597 AH). He made an important contribution and left us with a very valuable book. However, the majority of ḥadīth scholars consider Ibn al-Jawzī to be [too] strict, and in his extreme position, he [ended up labeling many things fabricated and] included many ḥadīths in his book that were not actually fabricated. Approximately three hundred years after the death of this great scholar, Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 AH) conducted a significant study on Ibn al-Jawzī's book. His work can be studied in three parts.

In the first part, al-Suyūṭī accepted Ibn al-Jawzī's opinions and agreed that the ḥadīths he labeled as fabricated were indeed fabricated. In the second part, he opposed him, arguing that the ḥadīths listed in that part were not fabricated, but rather weak or *ḥasan* (good), and some were even *ṣaḥīḥ* (authentic). In the third part, al-Suyūṭī discussed ḥadīths that Ibn al-Jawzī had omitted from his book, even though they were fabricated according to al-Suyūṭī's findings. Scholars who examined al-Suyūṭī's work criticized him for being too lenient, as he defended ḥadīths as not fabricated, even though they were indeed fabricated. This leniency was seen as going too far, in contrast to Ibn al-Jawzī's strictness. Approximately fifty years after the death of al-Suyūṭī, ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAli (d. 963 AH), known as Ibn ʿIrāq (or Ibn ʿArrāq as some call him), conducted a study on both Ibn al-Jawzī's and al-Suyūṭī's

[881] Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *al-Laʾālīʾ al-maṣnūʿah*, 1:302–308.

works. He found a middle ground, acknowledging that sometimes Ibn al-Jawzī was correct and al-Suyūṭī was mistaken, while at other times, Ibn al-Jawzī was mistaken while al-Suyūṭī was correct. Many scholars have accepted his views on which ḥadīths are fabricated and which are not, as being the correct view.

In conclusion, we can say this: It is not correct to hastily declare a ḥadīth to be fabricated simply because it is found in one of these books. It is important to read the opinions expressed in these books patiently and thoroughly in order to understand what the scholars meant. Some researchers attempt to determine whether a ḥadīth is fabricated by simply looking at the index of these books and concluding that if a ḥadīth is found there, it must be fabricated. In reality, if they were to read the entire text of the ḥadīth and its context, they would realize that making hasty judgments leads to inaccurate conclusions. Also, scholars who specialize in ḥadīth know that when a scholar of fabricated ḥadīths identifies a ḥadīth as fabricated based on a particular chain of narration (isnād), this judgment applies only to that specific chain [in other words, only that version of the ḥadīth]. Not all narrations of the [same] ḥadīth are necessarily fabricated. For instance, al-Suyūṭī, when disputing Ibn al-Jawzī's opinions, sometimes points out that the ḥadīth in question has multiple chains of narration, some of which are fabricated, while others [for the same ḥadīth] are not fabricated. May God, the Exalted, show us the truth as truth and guide us to follow it, and show us falsehood as falsehood and protect us from it.

The Companions used to send those who ask ʿAlī when they had questions and used to go to ʿAlī for answers:

عَنْ شُرَيْحِ بْنِ هَانِئٍ قَالَ: « أَتَيْتُ عَائِشَةَ أَسْأَلُهَا عَنِ الْمَسْحِ عَلَى الْخُفَّيْنِ ؟ فَقَالَتْ: عَلَيْكَ بِابْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، فَسَلْهُ، فَإِنَّهُ كَانَ يُسَافِرُ مَعَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم. فَسَأَلْنَاهُ فَقَالَ: جَعَلَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم ثَلاَثَةَ أَيَّامٍ وَلَيَالِيَهُنَّ لِلْمُسَافِرِ ، وَيَوْمًا وَلَيْلَةً لِلْمُقِيمِ ».

Shurayḥ ibn Hāni' said: "I went to the Mother of the Believers, ʿĀ'ishah, and asked her about the duration of wiping over the leather socks (*masḥ*) for prayer. She replied, 'Go to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and ask him, for he used to travel with the Messenger of God ﷺ.' So, I went to him and asked him. He answered, 'The Messenger of God ﷺ set the duration for

a traveler as three days and three nights, and for a resident as one day and one night'."[882]

ʿAlī's Appointment as the Judge of Yemen:

عَنْ عَلِيٍّ عَلَيْهِ السَّلاَمُ قَالَ: بَعَثَنِي رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم إِلَى الْيَمَنِ قَاضِيًا. فَقُلْتُ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ، تُرْسِلُنِي وَأَنَا حَدِيثُ السِّنِّ، وَلاَ عِلْمَ لِي بِالْقَضَاءِ. فَقَالَ: « إِنَّ اللَّهَ سَيَهْدِي قَلْبَكَ وَيُثَبِّتُ لِسَانَكَ. فَإِذَا جَلَسَ بَيْنَ يَدَيْكَ الْخَصْمَانِ، فَلاَ تَقْضِيَنَّ حَتَّى تَسْمَعَ مِنَ الآخَرِ، كَمَا سَمِعْتَ مِنَ الأَوَّلِ. فَإِنَّهُ أَحْرَى أَنْ يَتَبَيَّنَ لَكَ الْقَضَاءُ . » قَالَ: فَمَا زِلْتُ قَاضِيًا، أَوْ مَا شَكَكْتُ فِي قَضَاءٍ بَعْدُ.

ʿAlī said: "The Messenger of God ﷺ sent me as a judge to Yemen. I said, 'O, Messenger of God, you are sending me while I am still young in age, and I have no knowledge of judicial rulings.' He said, 'God will guide your heart and make your tongue steadfast. When two disputants sit before you, do not pass judgment until you have heard the second just as you heard the first. In that way, the reality of a just judgment will become clear to you'." ʿAlī said: "From that time on, I continued to render judgments, and I never doubted in any judicial ruling I issued."[883]

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[882] Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 1:159 #661, 1:160 #663; Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Mājah, *al-Sunan*, 1:347 #552; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 1:96 #748, 1:100 #780, 1:113 #906; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 1:124 #130; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 1:272 #1333, #1335; Muḥammad ibn Khuzaymah, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:98 #194; ʿAlī ibn al-Jaʿd, *al-Musnad*, 332 #2282.

[883] Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath, *al-Sunan*, 3:327 #3584; Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 3:618 #1331; Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Mājah, *al-Sunan*, 3:408 #2310; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 2:68 #636, 2:421 #1281; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:580 #984, 2:716 #1227; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:422 #8363–8368; *Khaṣāʾiṣ ʿAlī*, 56, 57, 58 #32–37; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 6:13 #29098, 6:356 #32068; Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, 1:41 #50; ʿAbd ibn Ḥumayd, *al-Muntakhab*, 61 #94; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 2:289 #711, 2:298 #721, #733; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 1:252 #293, 1:268 #316, 1:323 #401; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:145 #4658; Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-*

The Messenger of God ﷺ approved and affirmed the judicial decisions rendered by ʿAlī:

عَنْ حُمَيْدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ يَزِيدَ الْمَدَنِيِّ قال: قَضَى عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ بِقَضِيَّةٍ عَلَى عَهْدِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، فَبَلَغَتِ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَأَعْجَبَتْهُ، فَقَالَ: «الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي جَعَلَ فِينَا الْحِكْمَةَ أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ. »

It is narrated from Ḥumayd ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Madanī, who said: "While the Messenger of God ﷺ was still alive, ʿAlī, the son of Abū Ṭālib, rendered a judicial verdict in a certain matter. News of this reached the Prophet ﷺ and he approved of the ruling and said: 'Praise be to God, who has placed wisdom among the People of the House (Ahl al-Bayt)'."[884]

The Judicial Rulings of ʿAlī: During the caliphates of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, ʿAlī acted in the capacity of a judge. Many cases were referred to him for adjudication.

عَنِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ قَالَ: قَالَ عُمَرُ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ: أَقْرَؤُنَا أُبَيٌّ، وَأَقْضَانَا عَلِيٌّ.

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās said: ʿUmar stated: "The most excellent among us in reciting the Qur'ān is Ubayy, and the one with the greatest knowledge of judicial rulings is ʿAlī."[885] In some reports, it is mentioned that ʿUmar said this during a khuṭbah (sermon).[886]

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kubrá, 10:140 #20991; *Maʿrifat al-sunan wa-al-āthār*, 14:241 #6042; Wakīʿ ibn al-Jarrāḥ, *Akhbār al-quḍāt*, 1:84–85; Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 2:337.

[884] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:645 #1113; Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Idrīs, *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿazīm*, 2:542 #2830; Muḥibb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭabarī, *Dhakhāʾir al-ʿuqbá fī manāqib dhawī al-qurbá*, 1:85; *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍirah*, 1:269.

[885] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 6:23 #4481; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 35:10 #21084–21086; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:305 #5328; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 10:518 #30755; Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubūwah*, 7:155; Mālik ibn Anas, *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, 6:34; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, 165; al-Ḥusayn ibn Masʿūd al-Baghawī, *Maʿālim al-tanzīl fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān*, 7:326; *Sharḥ al-sunnah*, 14:132.

[886] Ibn Badrān ʿAbd al-Qādir Badrān, *Tahdhīb tārīkh Dimashq*, 5:414.

When difficult legal issues arose before ʿUmar, and ʿAlī was not present, ʿUmar would seek refuge in God.

عَنْ سَعِيدِ بْنِ الْمُسَيِّبِ قَالَ : « كَانَ عُمَرُ يَتَعَوَّذُ بِاللَّهِ مِنْ مُعْضِلَةٍ لَيْسَ فِيهَا أَبُو حَسَنٍ. »

Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyab said: "'Umar would seek refuge in God from a difficult matter (problem) in which Abū al-Ḥasan (ʿAlī) was not present."[887]

An intervention by ʿAlī during an incident that took place in the time of ʿUmar's caliphate:

أَنَّ عُمَرَ بْنَ الْخَطَّابِ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ أُتِيَ بِامْرَأَةٍ قَدْ زَنَتْ. فَأَمَرَ بِرَجْمِهَا. فَذَهَبُوا بِهَا لِيَرْجُمُوهَا. فَلَقِيَهُمْ عَلِيٌّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ فَقَالَ: مَا هَذِهِ؟ قَالُوا: زَنَتْ، فَأَمَرَ عُمَرُ بِرَجْمِهَا. فَانْتَزَعَهَا عَلِيٌّ مِنْ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَرَدَّهُمْ. فَرَجَعُوا إِلَى عُمَرَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ، فَقَالَ: مَا رَدَّكُمْ؟ قَالُوا: رَدَّنَا عَلِيٌّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. قَالَ: مَا فَعَلَ هَذَا عَلِيٌّ إِلاَّ لِشَيْءٍ قَدْ عَلِمَهُ. فَأَرْسَلَ إِلَى عَلِيٍّ. فَجَاءَ وَهُوَ شِبْهُ الْمُغْضَبِ. فَقَالَ: مَا لَكَ رَدَدْتَ هَؤُلاءِ؟ قَالَ: أَمَا سَمِعْتَ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ: « رُفِعَ الْقَلَمُ عَنْ ثَلاثَةٍ: عَنِ النَّائِمِ حَتَّى يَسْتَيْقِظَ، وَعَنِ الصَّغِيرِ حَتَّى يَكْبَرَ، وَعَنِ الْمُبْتَلَى حَتَّى يَعْقِلَ » . قَالَ: بَلَى. قَالَ عَلِيٌّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ: فَإِنَّ هَذِهِ مُبْتَلاةُ بَنِي فُلانٍ. فَلَعَلَّهُ أَتَاهَا وَهُوَ بِهَا. فَقَالَ عُمَرُ: لاَ أَدْرِي. قَالَ: وَأَنَا لاَ أَدْرِي. فَلَمْ يَرْجُمْهَا.

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[887] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:648 #1100; Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 2:339 #2527; Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī, *Muʿjam al-ṣaḥābah*, 4:155 #1817; Ibn Badrān ʿAbd al-Qādir Badrān, *Tahdhīb tārīkh Dimashq*, 5:414; Muḥibb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭabarī, *Dhakhāʾir al-ʿuqbá fī manāqib dhawī al-qurbá*, 1:82; *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍirah*, 1:265; Ibn al-Athīr ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Jazarī, *Usd al-ghābah fī maʿrifat al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:294; Yūsuf Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 2:485 #4089; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 3:147; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 4:568; *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 7:296.

They brought to ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb a woman who had committed adultery. ʿUmar commanded that she be stoned. She was being taken away to be stoned when ʿAlī encountered them and asked, "What is this?" They replied, "This woman committed adultery, and ʿUmar has ordered that she be stoned. We are taking her to carry out the sentence." ʿAlī took the woman from their hands and told them, "Go." The officials went back to ʿUmar . When ʿUmar saw them, he asked, "Why have you returned?" They said, "'Alī sent us back." ʿUmar said, "'Alī must have done so based on some knowledge he possesses." He then sent for ʿAlī. ʿAlī came as if he were angry. ʿUmar asked, "Why did you send them back?" ʿAlī replied, "Did you not hear the saying of the Messenger of God ﷺ : 'God has lifted the pen from three: from the one who sleeps until he awakens, from the child until he matures, and from the insane until he recovers from his illness'?" ʿUmar said, "Yes, that is so." ʿAlī then said, "This woman belongs to the Banū Fulān and she is afflicted with this illness (she is insane). It is likely that the act was committed with her while she was in that condition." ʿUmar said, "I did not know." ʿAlī said, "Nor did I." Thus, the woman was not stoned. [888]

ʿUmar used to refer those who asked him for legal opinions to ʿAlī so that he might answer them:

أَنَّ رَجُلاً سَأَلَ عُمَرَ عَنْ بَيْضِ النَّعَامِ يُصِيبُهُ الْمُحْرِمُ ؟ فَقَالَ لَهُ عُمَرُ: « أَرَأَيْتَ عَلِيًّا فَاسْأَلْهُ؛ فَإِنَّا قَدْ أُمِرْنَا أَنْ نُشَاوِرَهُ ».

A man asked ʿUmar: "What is the ruling concerning a person in a state of *iḥrām* (ritual consecration for pilgrimage) who finds and takes an

[888] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 8:205 (al-Bukhārī relates this as a muʿallaq ḥadīth, without a chain of transmission); Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 1:154 #1328; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:707 #1209, 2:719 #1232; Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath, *al-Sunan*, 4:244 #4403–4404; Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 4:32 #1423; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 6:487 #7303–7304; Ibn Mājah Muḥammad ibn Yazīd, *al-Sunan*, 3:198 #2041; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:356 #143; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 1:440 #587; ʿAlī ibn ʿUmar al-Dāraquṭnī, *al-Sunan*, 4:163 #3267; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 2:59 #2351; Saʿīd ibn Manṣūr, *al-Sunan*, 2:94 #2078; ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, 7:80 #12288.

ostrich egg?" ʿUmar replied to him: "When you see ʿAlī, ask him. We have been commanded to consult with him." [889]

Another narration:

أَنَّ رَجُلاً أَتَى عُمَرَ فَسَأَلَهُ عَنِ الْعُمْرَةِ فَقَالَ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، مَا آتِيكَ حَتَّى رَكِبْتُ الإِبِلَ، وَالْخَيْلَ، وَالسُّفُنَ. فَمِنْ أَيْنَ أُهِلُّ ؟ قَالَ: « ائْتِ عَلِيًّا فَاسْأَلْهُ. فَأَتَى عَلِيًّا فَسَأَلَهُ ؟ فَقَالَ: مِنْ حَيْثُ أَبْدَأْتَ. فَرَجَعَ إِلَيْهِ فَأَخْبَرَهُ. فَقَالَ: مَا أَجِدُ لَكَ إِلاَّ مَا قَالَ عَلِيٌّ. »

A man came to ʿUmar and asked him about ʿumrah, saying: "O, Commander of the Believers, I have ridden camels and horses and boarded ships to come to you. From where should I enter into *iḥrām*?" ʿUmar said: "Go to ʿAlī and ask him." The man went to ʿAlī and posed the question. ʿAlī replied: "You shall enter into *iḥrām* from wherever you began your journey." The man then returned to ʿUmar and informed him of the answer he had received. ʿUmar said: "I have no response to give other than what ʿAlī has said." [890]

The Mother of the Believers, ʿĀ'ishah, also directed one who asked for a legal opinion to ʿAlī.

سُئِلَتْ عَائِشَةُ فِي كَمْ تُصَلِّي الْمَرْأَةُ؟ فَقَالَتْ: « ائْتِ عَلِيًّا فَاسْأَلْهُ، ثُمَّ ارْجِعْ إِلَيَّ. فَأَتَى عَلِيًّا فَسَأَلَهُ. فَقَالَ: فِي دِرْعٍ سَابِغٍ وَخِمَارٍ. فَرَجَعَ إِلَيْهَا فَأَخْبَرَهَا. فَقَالَتْ: صَدَقَ ».

The Mother of the Believers, ʿĀ'ishah, was asked: "With what kind of clothing should a woman perform the prayer?" ʿĀ'ishah said: "Go to ʿAlī and ask him, then return and inform me of the answer he gives." He replied: "A garment that covers the entire body and a head covering." The man returned to ʿĀ'ishah and conveyed ʿAlī's response. ʿĀ'ishah said: "'Alī has spoken the truth." [891]

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[889] ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, 4:422 #8298.

[890] Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 3:516 #13100.

[891] Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 2:224 #6225.

During the expedition of Ṭā'if, ʿAlī was the confidant of the Messenger of God ﷺ.

عَنْ جَابِرٍ قَالَ: دَعَا رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَلِيًّا يَوْمَ الطَّائِفِ فَانْتَجَاهُ، فَقَالَ النَّاسُ: لَقَدْ طَالَ نَجْوَاهُ مَعَ ابْنِ عَمِّهِ. فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: « مَا انْتَجَيْتُهُ وَلَكِنَّ اللَّهَ انْتَجَاهُ. »

Jābir said: During the siege of Ṭā'if, the Messenger of God ﷺ summoned ʿAlī and spoke with him privately. The people (the Companions) said: "His private conversation with his cousin has gone on for quite a while." Thereupon, the Messenger of God ﷺ said: "It was not I who willed this; rather, God commanded me to converse with him in private." [892]

The Messenger of God ﷺ once lifted ʿAlī upon his shoulders:

عَنْ عَلِيٍّ قَالَ: « انْطَلَقْتُ أَنَا وَالنَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ حَتَّى أَتَيْنَا الْكَعْبَةَ. فَقَالَ لِي رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: اجْلِسْ، وَصَعِدَ عَلَى مَنْكِبَيَّ. فَذَهَبْتُ لأَنْهَضَ بِهِ، فَرَأَى مِنِّي ضَعْفًا. فَنَزَلَ، وَجَلَسَ لِي نَبِيُّ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَقَالَ: اصْعَدْ عَلَى مَنْكِبَيَّ. قَالَ: فَصَعِدْتُ عَلَى مَنْكِبَيْهِ. قَالَ: فَنَهَضَ بِي. قَالَ: فَإِنَّهُ يُخَيَّلُ إِلَيَّ أَنِّي لَوْ شِئْتُ لَنِلْتُ أُفُقَ السَّمَاءِ. حَتَّى صَعِدْتُ عَلَى الْبَيْتِ، وَعَلَيْهِ تِمْثَالُ صُفْرٍ، أَوْ نُحَاسٍ. فَجَعَلْتُ أُزَاوِلُهُ عَنْ يَمِينِهِ وَعَنْ شِمَالِهِ، وَبَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ وَمِنْ خَلْفِهِ. حَتَّى إِذَا اسْتَمْكَنْتُ مِنْهُ. قَالَ لِي رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: اقْذِفْ بِهِ، فَقَذَفْتُ بِهِ. فَتَكَسَّرَ كَمَا تَتَكَسَّرُ الْقَوَارِيرُ، ثُمَّ نَزَلْتُ. فَانْطَلَقْتُ أَنَا وَرَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ نَسْتَبِقُ حَتَّى تَوَارَيْنَا بِالْبُيُوتِ، خَشْيَةَ أَنْ يَلْقَانَا أَحَدٌ مِنَ النَّاسِ. »

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[892] Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 6:85 #3726; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 4:118 #2163; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 2:257 #1735; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim Aḥmad ibn ʿAmr, *al-Sunnah*, 2:598 #1321; Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-Fākihī, *Akhbār Makkah*, 3:195 #1964; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī, *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥābah*, 4:428 #1401.

ʿAlī said: "The Messenger of God ﷺ and I went together to the Kaʿbah. The Messenger of God ﷺ told me, 'Sit down,' and then climbed onto my shoulders. I stood up to lift him, but I felt weak (lack of strength). He descended, sat again, and said, 'Now, climb onto my shoulders.' I climbed onto both of his shoulders. The Messenger of God ﷺ stood up. It felt as though I could reach the sky if I stretched out my hand. I climbed onto the roof of the Kaʿbah. There was a statue made of copper on top of the Kaʿbah. I removed it by shaking it back and forth, right, left, forward, and backward, and it was broken into pieces, like the breaking of glassware. The Messenger of God ﷺ said, 'Throw it down.' So, I threw it down. Then, I descended. To avoid being seen by anyone, the Messenger of God and I quickly walked through the alleys until we disappeared from sight."[893]

[893] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 1:84 #644; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 14:488 #38062; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:451 #8453; *Khaṣāʾiṣ ʿAlī*, 134 #122; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 3:21 #769; Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tahdhīb al-āthār*, 4:389 #1635, 1636; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 2:366 #3387.

QUR'ĀNIC VERSES REVEALED ABOUT ʿALĪ

Verses revealed regarding ʿAlī: In some tafsīr and ḥadīth books, there are reports that certain verses of the Qur'ān were revealed in relation to ʿAlī. We have identified around eleven verses in this regard.

The verses include:

1-﴿ الَّذِينَ يُنْفِقُونَ أَمْوَالَهُمْ بِاللَّيْلِ وَالنَّهَارِ سِرًّا وَعَلَانِيَةً فَلَهُمْ أَجْرُهُمْ عِنْدَ رَبِّهِمْ وَلاَ خَوْفٌ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلاَ هُمْ يَحْزَنُونَ ﴾

The verse: "Those who spend their wealth, both by night and by day, secretly and openly, for the cause of good, their reward is with God. There shall be no fear upon them, nor shall they grieve." [894] The narration regarding this verse's revelation concerning ʿAlī is as follows:

عَنِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ فِي قَوْلِ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ: ﴿ الَّذِينَ يُنْفِقُونَ أَمْوَالَهُمْ بِاللَّيْلِ وَالنَّهَارِ سِرًّا وَعَلانِيَةً ﴾ قَالَ: نَزَلَتْ فِي عَلِيِّ بن أَبِي طَالِبٍ. كَانَتْ عِنْدَهُ أَرْبَعَةُ دَرَاهِمَ، فَأَنْفَقَ بِاللَّيْلِ وَاحِدًا، وَبِالنَّهَارِ وَاحِدًا، وَفِي السِّرِّ وَاحِدًا، وَفِي الْعَلانِيَةِ وَاحِدًا.

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās said: "The verse, 'Those who spend their wealth, both by night and by day, secretly and openly...,' was revealed concerning ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. He had four dirhams [silver coins]. By night, he spent one dirham, by day one dirham, secretly one dirham, and openly one dirham."[895]

2-﴿ إِنَّمَا وَلِيُّكُمُ اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا الَّذِينَ يُقِيمُونَ الصَّلاَةَ وَيُؤْتُونَ الزَّكَاةَ وَهُمْ رَاكِعُونَ﴾

"Indeed, your protector (guardian/friend) is none other than God, His messenger, and those who have believed, those who establish prayer and give zakat while bowing." [896]

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[894] Q, al-Baqarah, 2:274.

[895] ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr*, 1:371 #344; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 9:307 #11001.

[896] Q, al-Mā'idah, 5:55.

The reports related to this verse: According to some, this verse was revealed concerning ʿAlī. Al-Suddī said: God, exalted be He, informs them (the believers) that He is their protector. All believers are within the scope of this verse. However, one day the son of Abū Ṭālib, ʿAlī, while he was in the mosque in prayer, in the position of *rukūʿ* (bowing), a person came by and asked him begging. He gave him his ring. ʿAbd al-Malik said: I asked Abū Jaʿfar (Muḥammad al-Bāqir) about this verse: "Who are the believers referred to here?" He replied: "The believers are the true believers." We then said: "It has come to us that this verse was revealed concerning the son of Abū Ṭālib, ʿAlī." He replied: "ʿAlī is indeed one of the believers." ʿUtbah ibn Abī Ḥakam also said that this verse was revealed concerning ʿAlī. Mujāhid also said that this verse was revealed concerning the son of Abū Ṭālib, ʿAlī, as he gave charity while bowing. [897]

The tafsīr scholar Ibn Kathīr, while explaining this verse, evaluates these reports as follows: The phrase "while bowing" has been understood by some as meaning that they give zakat while in the position of *rukūʿ* in prayer. However, this is not the case. The correct interpretation is that while bowing means they humbly submit to God's commands, bending in obedience to His orders. They perform the *rukūʿ* (bowing) and *sujūd* (prostration) in their prayers with humility and proper devotion, and they give their zakat to those who are entitled to it, as prescribed by God. The meaning of *rukūʿ* in the lexicon is bending, i.e., carrying out commands fully. Therefore, the verse does not mean giving zakat while in the position of *rukūʿ* in prayer. God willing, this is the correct interpretation. [898]

Reports in the *Tafsīr* of Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī: ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Abī Sulaymān said: I asked Abū Jaʿfar (Muḥammad al-Bāqir) about this verse: "Was this verse revealed concerning ʿAlī?" He replied: "Yes, ʿAlī is one of the believers." Al-Suddī, in his interpretation of this verse, said: "These are the believers, and ʿAlī is one of them." ʿUqbah ibn Ḥakīm said: "The believers mentioned in this verse refer to the son of Abū

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[897] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān fī taʾwīl al-Qurʾān*, 10:425 #12210–12214; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, 3:185; ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad al-Wāḥidī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, 133.

[898] Ibn Kathīr Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar, *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿaẓīm*, 3:182.

Ṭālib, ʿAlī."[899] The narration from al-Ṭabarānī is as follows: Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan narrated from his grandfather: He said, "I heard from ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir, who said: A beggar stood by, and ʿAlī was in the middle of a voluntary prayer, bowing in *rukūʿ*. He [extended his hand with a ring on it and] took off his ring and gave it to the beggar. The beggar went to the Messenger of God ﷺ and told him this. Upon hearing this..."

﴿ إِنَّمَا وَلِيُّكُمُ اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا الَّذِينَ يُقِيمُونَ الصَّلاَةَ وَيُؤْتُونَ الزَّكَاةَ وَهُمْ رَاكِعُونَ﴾

The verse "Indeed, your ally (protector/guardian) is only God, His messenger, and the believers who establish prayer and give zakat while bowing" was revealed. The Messenger of God ﷺ recited the verse and said: "Whoever I am his master, then ʿAlī is his master as well. O, God, whoever takes him as a master, take him as a master, and whoever opposes him, be an enemy to him."[900]

In the chain of narration of this ḥadīth as reported by al-Ṭabarānī, there are two individuals who are considered questionable: Khālid ibn Yazīd al-ʿUmarī, who was accused of lying, and Isḥāq ibn ʿAbd Allāh, whose status is unknown. Because of this, this [version of the] narration is quite weak and is not acceptable.

3-﴿ أَجَعَلْتُمْ سِقَايَةَ الْحَاجِّ وَعِمَارَةَ الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ كَمَنْ آمَنَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَجَاهَدَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ لاَ يَسْتَوُونَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ وَاللَّهُ لاَ يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الظَّالِمِينَ﴾

"(O polytheists!) Do you consider giving water to the pilgrims and maintaining the Sacred Mosque to be like the faith of those who believe in God and the Last Day, and who strive in the way of God? Yet they are not equal in the sight of God. God does not guide the wrongdoers."[901] According to this verse, piety is first and foremost belief, confirmation, and striving for the sake of God before any ritual acts. After these conditions are met, services like giving water to the pilgrims,

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[899] Ibn Abī Ḥātim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Idrīs, *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿaẓīm*, 4:1162 #6547–6549.

[900] Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, 6:218 #6232; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Muttafiq wa-al-muftariq*, 1:258 #106.

[901] Q, al-Tawbah, 9:19.

maintaining the Sacred Mosque, and ensuring its upkeep hold value in the sight of God. Abū Ṣaḥr said: I heard Muḥammad ibn Kāʿb al-Quraẓī say: Ṭalḥah ibn Shaybah, Abū Ṭālib's son ʿAlī, and ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib's son al-ʿAbbās were boasting among themselves. Ṭalḥah said: "I am the master of the House, the key is with me. If I wish, I can sleep inside." Al-ʿAbbās said: "I am in charge of providing water to the pilgrims. If I wish, I can sleep in the mosque." ʿAlī said: "I do not understand anything from what you say. [Before anyone else became Muslim] I became Muslim first. I prayed facing the *qiblah* for six months, and I am the one who has participated in jihad." Then the entire verse, "Do you consider giving water to the pilgrims and maintaining the Sacred Mosque to be like the faith of those who believe in God and the Last Day, and who strive in the way of God?" was revealed.

Al-Suddī's narration is as follows: ʿAlī, al-ʿAbbās, and Shaybah, the son of ʿUthmān, boasted among themselves. al-ʿAbbās said: "I provide water to the pilgrims." Shaybah said: "I maintain the House of God." ʿAlī said: "I migrated with the Messenger of God ﷺ and I am striving for the sake of God alongside him." Then this verse was revealed. Shaʿbī said: ʿAlī, al-ʿAbbās, and Shaybah spoke about the provision of water to the pilgrims and the maintenance of the Kaʿbah. Then this verse was revealed. [902]

4-﴿ إِنَّ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ سَيَجْعَلُ لَهُمُ الرَّحْمَنُ وُدًّا ﴾

"Indeed, those who believe and do righteous deeds—most merciful God will create in their hearts a love." [903] ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās said regarding the interpretation of the verse "most merciful God will create in their hearts a love": It refers to the creation of affection (love) among the believers. He said that it was revealed concerning ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. [904] Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah said regarding the interpretation of the

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[902] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān fī taʾwīl al-Qurʾān*, 14:171-172 #16561, 16562, 16563, 16565; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 12:81 #32787; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, 4:145; Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, 6:1767; ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Tafsīr*, 2:138 #1061 (al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī), #1062 (al-Shaʿbī).

[903] Q. Maryam, 19:96.

[904] Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 12:122 #12655; *al-Muʃam al-awsaṭ*, 5:348 #5516; Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī, *al-Sharīʿah*, 4:2066 #1547, 1548.

verse "most merciful God will create in their hearts a love": It means that in the heart of every believer you will certainly find love for Abū Ṭālib's son ʿAlī and the family of the Prophet. [905]

5-﴿ هَذَانِ خَصْمَانِ اخْتَصَمُوا فِي رَبِّهِمْ ﴾

"Indeed, these two groups are disputants concerning their Lord."[906] The ḥadīths narrated by al-Bukhārī and Muslim, which are agreed upon by both, regarding the interpretation of this verse, are as follows:

عَنْ قَيْسِ بْنِ عُبَادٍ قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ أَبَا ذَرٍّ يُقْسِمُ قَسَمًا:إِنَّ﴿ هَذَانِ خَصْمَانِ اخْتَصَمُوا فِي رَبِّهِمْ ﴾ إِنَّهَا نَزَلَتْ فِي الَّذِينَ بَرَزُوا يَوْمَ بَدْرٍ. حَمْزَةُ، وَعَلِيٌّ، وَعُبَيْدَةُ بْنُ الْحَارِثِ، وَعُتْبَةُ وَشَيْبَةُ ابْنَا رَبِيعَةَ، وَالْوَلِيدُ بْنُ عُتْبَةَ.

Qays Ibn ʿUbād said: I heard Abū Dharr, swearing by God, say the following about this verse:

﴿ هَذَانِ خَصْمَانِ اخْتَصَمُوا فِي رَبِّهِمْ ﴾

The verse "These are two adversaries who disputed concerning their Lord" was revealed about those who engaged in single combat at the Battle of Badr: Ḥamzah, ʿAlī, and ʿUbayda ibn al-Ḥārith, and the sons of Rabīʿa, ʿUtba and Shaybah, along with ʿUtba's son Walīd. [907]

6-﴿ أَفَمَنْ وَعَدْنَاهُ وَعْدًا حَسَنًا فَهُوَ لاَقِيهِ كَمَنْ مَتَّعْنَاهُ مَتَاعَ الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا ثُمَّ هُوَ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ مِنَ الْمُحْضَرِينَ ﴾

"Is then one to whom We have promised a good promise, and who will receive it, like one whom We allowed to enjoy the temporary enjoyment of the life of this world, then on the Day of Resurrection he will be among those brought forth (to punishment)?" [908] (Q. 28:61). Mujāhid

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[905] Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī, *al-Sharīʿah*, 4:1766 #1222; Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī, *al-Ṭuyūrīyāt*, 3:793 #702; Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar al-Bahṭarī, *Majmūʿ fīh muṣannafāt Abī Jaʿfar Ibn al-Bahṭarī*, 155 #96.

[906] Q. al-Ḥajj, 22:19.

[907] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 5:95 #3965, 3969, 6:123 #4744; Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 8:245 #7747; ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Tafsīr*, 2:399 #1905; al-Ḥusayn ibn Masʿūd al-Baghawī, *Maʿālim al-tanzīl fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān*, 5:373.

[908] Q. al-Qaṣaṣ, 28:61.

said: This verse was revealed about Ḥamzah, ʿAlī the son of Abū Ṭālib, and Abū Jahl.[909]

7-﴿ أَفَمَنْ كَانَ مُؤْمِنًا كَمَنْ كَانَ فَاسِقًا لاَ يَسْتَوُونَ ﴾

"Is then the one who is a believer like the one who is a wicked transgressor? They are not equal."[910](Q 32:18). ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās narrated: Al-Walīd ibn ʿUqbah said to ʿAlī, "Am I not more eloquent than you? Is my sword not sharper than yours? Am I not wealthier than you?" ʿAlī said to him, "Be silent! You are a *fāsiq* (wicked transgressor)." Thereupon the verse was revealed: "Is then the one who is a believer like the one who is a wicked transgressor? They are not equal." The believer is ʿAlī; the *fāsiq* is al-Walīd.[911] That al-Walīd ibn ʿUqbah was a *fāsiq* is confirmed by the sixth verse of sūrat al-Ḥujurāt:

﴿ يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا إِنْ جَاءَكُمْ فَاسِقٌ بِنَبَإٍ فَتَبَيَّنُوا أَنْ تُصِيبُوا قَوْمًا بِجَهَالَةٍ فَتُصْبِحُوا عَلَى مَا فَعَلْتُمْ نَادِمِينَ﴾

"O, you who believe! If a wicked person comes to you with news, verify it, lest you harm a people in ignorance and afterwards become regretful for what you have done."[912] (Q 49:6). The Prophet ﷺ had sent Walīd ibn ʿUqbah to the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq as a collector of alms. Due to previous hostility with them, Walīd became frightened and turned back on the way. Moreover, he came to the Prophet and reported that they had apostasized and refused to give alms. Upon this, the Prophet ﷺ became angry with them and even contemplated fighting them. At the same time, he sent Khālid ibn al-Walīd to investigate the situation. Khālid examined the matter and informed the Prophet ﷺ that the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq were giving the call to prayer, performing prayer, and had

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[909] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān fī taʾwīl al-Qurʾān*, 18:294-295 #27774; ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad al-Wāḥidī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, 349 #664.

[910] Q, al-Sajdah, 32:18.

[911] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:610 #1043; Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān fī taʾwīl al-Qurʾān*, 18:624 #28495; al-Ḥusayn ibn Masʿūd al-Baghawī, *Maʿālim al-tanzīl fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān*, 6:307; Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī, *al-Sharīʿah*, 1:279 #252, 4:253 #1547; al-Wāḥidī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, 349; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 13:321 #7291; Ibn ʿAsākir ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 63:235; Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, 6:553.

[912] Q, al-Ḥujurāt, 49:6.

handed over their alms. Various reports state that this incident was the cause of the revelation of the verse.

8-﴿ أَفَمَنْ شَرَحَ اللَّهُ صَدْرَهُ لِلإِسْلاَمِ فَهُوَ عَلَى نُورٍ مِنْ رَبِّهِ فَوَيْلٌ لِلْقَاسِيَةِ قُلُوبُهُمْ مِنْ ذِكْرِ اللَّهِ أُولَئِكَ فِي ضَلاَلٍ مُبِينٍ ﴾

"Is one whose heart God has opened to submission so that he is upon a light from his Lord (like the one who is not)? Then woe to those whose hearts are hardened against the remembrance of God! They are in manifest error." [913] Al-Wāḥidī said: This verse was revealed concerning Ḥamzah, ʿAlī, and Abū Lahab along with his sons. ʿAlī and Ḥamzah are those whose hearts were opened to submission, whereas Abū Lahab and his sons are those whose hearts were hardened against the remembrance of God.[914]

9-﴿ فَإِمَّا نَذْهَبَنَّ بِكَ فَإِنَّا مِنْهُمْ مُنْتَقِمُونَ ﴾

"Even if We take you away, We will surely exact retribution from them."[915] The meaning is: Whether you see it or not, we will give them the punishment they deserve. Ibn Mardawayh, through the narration of al-Kalbī, reported from Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh in a *marfūʿ* ḥadīth, where the Messenger of God ﷺ said that this verse was revealed concerning ʿAlī. He said: "After me, ʿAlī will take revenge on those who break their pledge and oppress others." [916]

10-﴿ وَيُطْعِمُونَ الطَّعَامَ عَلَى حُبِّهِ مِسْكِينًا وَيَتِيمًا وَأَسِيرًا ﴾

"They give food to the poor, orphans, and captives, despite their own desire for it." [917] Wāhidī and Ibn al-Maghāzilī report from ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās that this verse was revealed about ʿAlī, the son of Abū Ṭālib,

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[913] Q, al-Zumar, 39:22.

[914] ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad al-Wāḥidī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, 248.

[915] Q, al-Zukhruf, 43:41.

[916] Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, 7:380.

[917] Q, al-Insān, 76:8.

and Fāṭimah.[918] There is a narration in the books about Ḥasan and Ḥusayn falling ill, but Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Ibn al-Jawzī, and Ibn al-ʿArrāq consider it to be fabricated (*mawḍūʿ*).[919]

In Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal's *Faḍāʾil al-ṣahābah* and in ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās's narrations, it is stated that all the verses beginning with "O, you who believe" address the leader and noble ʿAlī. God condemned Muḥammad's companions in the Qurʾān, but always spoke well of ʿAlī.[920]

One of the people whom Paradise yearns for is ʿAlī:

عَنْ أَنَسِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: « إِنَّ الْجَنَّةَ تَشْتَاقُ إِلَى ثَلاَثَةٍ: عَلِيٍّ ، وَعَمَّارٍ ، وَسَلْمَانَ. »

Anas ibn Mālik reported that the Messenger of God ﷺ said: "Paradise yearns for three people. (It longs for them.) These are ʿAlī, ʿAmmār, and Salmān."[921]

General Evaluation of these narrations: The interpretation of a Companion is considered *marfūʿ* (attributed to the Prophet) when it concerns a report about the *asbāb al-nuzūl* (Reasons for Revelation), even if it is a statement of a Companion. This is because, on this matter, it is not possible to issue a judgment based on *ijtihād*. The words of a *tābiʿī*

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[918] ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad al-Wāḥidī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, 229; ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Maghāzilī, *Manāqib ʿAlī*, 343 #320; Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, 8:371.

[919] Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, *Nawādir al-uṣūl*, 1:244; Abū al-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Mawḍūʿāt al-kubrá*, 1:390; Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *al-Laʾālī al-maṣnūʿah*, 1:338; ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿArrāq, *Tanzīh al-sharīʿah al-marfūʿah*, 1:362 #67.

[920] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:654 #1114; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, 1:64.

[921] Muḥammad ibn ʿIsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 6:141 #3797; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 3:186 #2779, 2780; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 13:139 #6534; Aḥmad ibn Marwān al-Dīnawarī, *al-Mujālasah wa-jawāhir al-ʿilm*, 2:133 #267; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 6:215 #6045; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, 1:142; *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥābah*, 9:287 #2955; *Ṣifāt al-jannah*, 1:111 #84; Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī, *al-Sharīʿah*, 4:2088 #1576; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:137 #4666.

(Follower, after the Companions) are also *marfūʿ* but are *mursal* (not directly linked to the Prophet). However, if the *mursal* narration is supported by another narration from a Qur'ānic exegesis (tafsīr) scholar such as Mujāhid, Saʿīd ibn Jubayr, or ʿIkrimah, it is then considered *marfūʿ*. Al-Ḥākim, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Abū Manṣūr al-Baghdādī, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, and Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī support this view.[922] As with other topics, narrations related to *asbāb al-nuzūl* are accepted if they are *ṣaḥīḥ* (authentic). If they are weak (*ḍaʿīf*) or fabricated (*mawḍūʿ*), they are rejected. However, it should be noted that some of the chains of transmission for the narrations above are not very strong. Even if they are weak, since they relate to *faḍāʾil* (virtues), there is no harm in accepting them. That is why we have included them. We have not included narrations that are fabricated.

ʿAlī will be with the Messenger of God ﷺ in his palace in Paradise:

عَنْ زَيْدِ بْنِ أَبِي أَوْفَى قَالَ: دَخَلْتُ عَلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَسْجِدَهُ. فَقَالَ: «أَيْنَ فُلاَنٌ ؟ أَيْنَ فُلاَنٌ ؟ » . فَجَعَلَ يَنْظُرُ فِي وُجُوهِ أَصْحَابِهِ، وَيَتَفَقَّدَهُمْ وَيَبْعَثُ إِلَيْهِمْ. حَتَّى تَوَافَوْا عِنْدَهُ. فَحَمِدَ اللَّهَ وَأَثْنَى عَلَيْهِ. فَآخَى بَيْنَهُمْ. وَذَكَرَ الْحَدِيثَ، حَدِيثَ الْمُؤَاخَاةِ بَيْنَهُمْ. فَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ: لَقَدْ ذَهَبَتْ رُوحِي، وَانْقَطَعَ ظَهْرِي، حِينَ رَأَيْتُكَ فَعَلْتَ بِأَصْحَابِكَ مَا فَعَلَتَ غَيْرِي. فَإِنْ كَانَ هَذَا مِنْ سَخَطٍ عَلَيَّ فَلَكَ الْعُتْبَى وَالْكَرَامَةُ. فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: « وَالَّذِي بَعَثَنِي بِالْحَقِّ، مَا أَخَّرْتُكَ إِلاَ لِنَفْسِي. وَأَنْتَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى، غَيْرَ أَنَّهُ لاَ نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي. وَأَنْتَ أَخِي وَوَارِثِي » . قَالَ: مَا أَرِثُ مِنْكَ يَا نَبِيَّ اللَّهِ؟ قَالَ: « مَا وَرَّثَ الْأَنْبِيَاءُ قَبْلِي » . قَالَ: وَمَا وَرَّثَ الْأَنْبِيَاءُ قَبْلَكَ؟ قَالَ: « كِتَابَ اللَّهِ، وَسُنَّةَ نَبِيِّهِمْ. وَأَنْتَ مَعِي فِي قَصْرِي فِي الْجَنَّةِ مَعَ فَاطِمَةَ ابْنَتِي. وَأَنْتَ أَخِي وَرَفِيقِي. ثُمَّ تَلاَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ

[922] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Ṣanʿānī, *Tawḍīḥ al-afkār*, 1:255.

عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ:﴿ إِخْوَانًا عَلَى سُرُرٍ مُتَقَابِلِينَ ﴾ الْمُتَحَابُّونَ فِي اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ يَنْظُرُ بَعْضُهُمْ إِلَى بَعْضٍ. »

Zayd ibn Abī Awfā said: I entered the mosque of the Messenger of God ﷺ and he was looking at the faces of his Companions, asking, "Where is so-and-so? Where is such-and-such?" He was inquiring about who had come and who had not, sending messages to those who hadn't arrived to summon them. Almost all of them came. He praised and glorified God. Then he made the Anṣār (Helpers) and Muhājirīn (Emigrants) brothers. Zayd narrated the ḥadīth about brotherhood. ʿAlī said to the Messenger of God ﷺ: "When you made your Companions brothers, my back was broken, and my soul left me for not being included among them. If this is because of your anger toward me, then your approval and regard are your right." Upon this, the Messenger of God ﷺ said: "I swear by Him who sent me as a true prophet that I have left you last because I have reserved you for myself. Your position with me is like that of Hārūn (Aaron) to Mūsá (Moses), except that there is no prophet after me. You are my brother and my successor."

ʿAlī replied: "O, Messenger of God, what will I inherit from you?" The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "You will inherit whatever the previous prophets left behind." ʿAlī asked: "What did the previous prophets leave behind?" The Messenger of God ﷺ answered: "God's book and the sunnah (tradition) of the prophets. You will be with my daughter, Fāṭimah, in Paradise, in my palace, together with me. You are my brother and companion." Then the Messenger of God ﷺ recited the verse: "They will be brothers, sitting face to face on thrones." [923] Those who love each other for the sake of God will sit facing one another in Paradise. [924]

[923] Q. al-Ḥijr, 15:47.

[924] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:666 #1137; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 5:163 #5001; Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Baghawī, *Muʿjam al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:300; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī, *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥābah*, 8:306 #2654.

Regarding the gardens of ʿAlī in Paradise:

عَنْ عَلِيٍّ قَالَ: كُنْتُ أَمْشِي مَعَ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، وَهُوَ آخِذٌ بِيَدِي. فَمَرَرْنَا بِحَدِيقَةٍ، فَقُلْتُ: يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ، مَا أَحْسَنَهَا مِنْ حَدِيقَةٍ. قَالَ: «لَكَ فِي الْجَنَّةِ أَحْسَنُ مِنْهَا .» ثُمَّ مَرَرْنَا بِأُخْرَى ، فَقُلْتُ : يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ مَا أَحْسَنَهَا مِنْ حَدِيقَةٍ. قَالَ: « لَكَ فِي الْجَنَّةِ أَحْسَنُ مِنْهَا. » حَتَّى مَرَرْنَا بِسَبْعِ حَدَائِقَ. كُلُّ ذَلِكَ أَقُولُ مَا أَحْسَنَهَا. وَهُوَ يَقُولُ: « لَكَ فِي الْجَنَّةِ أَحْسَنُ مِنْهَا. » فَلَمَّا خَلاَ لَهُ الطَّرِيقُ اعْتَنَقَنِي، ثُمَّ أَجْهَشَ بَاكِيًا. فَقُلْتُ: يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ مَا يُبْكِيكَ؟ قَالَ:« ضَغَائِنُ فِي صُدُورِ قَوْمٍ لاَ يُبْدُونَهَا لَكَ، إِلاَّ مِنْ بَعْدِي. » قُلْتُ: فِي سَلاَمَةٍ مِنْ دِينِي ؟ قَالَ: « فِي سَلاَمَةٍ مِنْ دِينِكَ ».

ʿAlī said: I was walking with the Prophet ﷺ through some streets of Madīnah, holding his hand. We passed by a garden. I said: "O, Messenger of God, how beautiful this garden is!" He replied: "In Paradise, you will have something more beautiful than this." We passed by another garden. I said again: "How beautiful this garden is!" He replied: "In Paradise, you will have something more beautiful than this." We passed by seven gardens, and each time I said, "How beautiful this garden is!" He responded: "In Paradise, you will have something more beautiful than this."

In the narrations of al-Bazzār, Abū Yaʿlá, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, and *Tārīkh Dimashq*, there is an additional detail: When the road cleared, he embraced me and wept bitterly. I asked: "O, Messenger of God, what makes you cry?" He replied: "It is the hatred, animosity, and enmity that some people will harbor against you in their hearts and reveal after my departure." I asked: "Will my faith remain safe?" He replied: "Your faith will remain safe."[925] Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī mentioned in *Majmaʿ al-zawāʾid* that this ḥadīth was narrated by Abū Yaʿlá and al-Bazzār. In their chains of transmission, there is al-Faḍl ibn ʿUmayr. Ibn Ḥibbān is

[925] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:651 #1109; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār*, 2:293 #716; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 1:285 #565; Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Baghawī, *Muʿjam al-ṣaḥābah*, 4:157 #1825; Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī, *al-Sharīʿah*, 4:2087 #1575; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:139 #4672.

reliable, while others are considered weak, according to some scholars. The other narrators are trustworthy. [926]

The example of ʿAlī is like the example of Jesus (ʿĪsá) ﷺ:

عَنْ عَلِيٍّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ قَالَ: دَعَانِي رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَقَالَ: « يَا عَلِيُّ إِنَّ فِيكَ مِنْ عِيسَى عَلَيْهِ الصَّلاَةُ وَالسَّلاَمُ مَثَلاً. أَبْغَضَتْهُ الْيَهُودُ حَتَّى بَهَتُوا أُمَّهُ، وَأَحَبَّتْهُ النَّصَارَى حَتَّى أَنْزَلُوهُ بِالْمَنْزِلَةِ الَّتِي لَيْسَ بِهَا.» وَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ: أَلاَ وَأَنَّهُ يَهْلِكُ فِيَّ مُحِبٌ مُطْرِي يُفَرِّطُنِي بِمَا لَيْسَ فِيَّ. وَمُبْغِضٌ مُفْتَرٍ يَحْمِلُهُ شَنَآنِي عَلَى أَنْ يَبْهَتَنِي. أَلاَ وَأَنِّي لَسْتُ بِنَبِيٍّ، وَلاَ يُوحَى إِلَيَّ، وَلَكِنِّي أَعْمَلُ بِكِتَابِ اللهِ، وَسُنَّةِ نَبِيِّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَا اسْتَطَعْتُ. فَمَا أَمَرْتُكُمْ بِهِ مِنْ طَاعَةِ اللهِ تَعَالَى فَحَقَّ عَلَيْكُمْ طَاعَتِي فِيمَا أَحْبَبْتُمْ أَوْ كَرِهْتُمْ. وَمَا أَمَرْتُكُمْ بِمَعْصِيَةٍ أَنَا وَغَيْرِي، فَلاَ طَاعَةَ لأَحَدٍ فِي مَعْصِيَةِ اللهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ. إِنَّمَا الطَّاعَةُ فِي الْمَعْرُوفِ ».

ʿAlī, said: The Messenger of God ﷺ called me, and when I came to him, he said: "O, ʿAlī, your example is like the example of Jesus (ʿĪsá) ﷺ. The Jews hated him so much that they accused his mother of immorality. The Christians loved him so much that they elevated him to a position that was not his." ʿAlī said: "Know that those who excessively love me will go so far in their love that they will say things about me that are not true, and because of this, they will be destroyed. Those who hate me will also go so far that, out of their hatred and animosity towards me, they will accuse me of things that are false. Know that I am not a prophet, nor do I receive revelation. I only follow the book of God and the sunnah of the Prophet ﷺ to the best of my ability. In matters of obedience to God, whether you like them or not, it is a duty for you to obey me. If I or anyone else commands something sinful, do not obey. In matters of disobedience to God, there is no obedience to anyone." Obedience is only in what is known to be good." [927]

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[926] Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Abī Bakr al-Haythamī, *Majmaʿ al-zawāʾid wa-manbaʿ al-fawāʾid*, 9:118 #14690.

[927] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 1:160 #1376; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣahābah*, 2:713 #1222; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:446 #8434; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn

The affection of the Messenger of God ﷺ for ʿAlī:

أُمُّ عَطِيَّةَ قَالَتْ: بَعَثَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم جَيْشًا فِيهِمْ عَلِيٌّ. قَالَتْ فَسَمِعْتُ النَّبِيَّ صلى الله عليه وسلم وَهُوَ رَافِعٌ يَدَيْهِ يَقُولُ: « اللَّهُمَّ لاَ تُمِتْنِى حَتَّى تُرِيَنِي عَلِيًّا. »

Umm ʿAṭīyah said: The Prophet ﷺ sent a group of soldiers to a place, and ʿAlī was with them. I heard the Prophet ﷺ raise his hands and pray: "O, God, do not take my soul until You show me ʿAlī." [928]

The Messenger of God ﷺ would grant whatever ʿAlī asked for.

قَالَ عَلِيٌّ: « كُنْتُ إِذَا سَأَلْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم أَعْطَانِى، وَإِذَا سَكَتُّ ابْتَدَأَنِي .»

ʿAlī said: "When I asked the Messenger of God ﷺ for something, he would give it to me. When I remained silent, he would give it to me of his own accord." [929]

The Messenger of God ﷺ taught ʿAlī how to pray.

عَنْ عَلِيٍّ رضى الله عنه قَالَ: قَالَ لِى رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم: « أَلاَ أُعَلِّمُكَ كَلِمَاتٍ إِذَا قُلْتَهُنَّ غَفَرَ اللَّهُ لَكَ، وَإِنْ كُنْتَ مَغْفُورًا لَكَ ». قَالَ: « قُلْ: لاَ إِلَهَ إِلاَّ اللَّهُ الْعَلِىُّ الْعَظِيمُ، لاَ إِلَهَ إِلاَّ اللَّهُ الْحَلِيمُ الْكَرِيمُ، لاَ إِلَهَ إِلاَّ اللَّهُ سُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَرْشِ الْعَظِيمِ، الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ. »

ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 1:273 #534; Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī, *al-Sharīʿah*, 5:2531; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 6:374 #32133; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim Aḥmad ibn ʿAmr, *al-Sunnah*, 2:476 #983; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:123 #4622; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh, *Faḍāʾil al-khulafāʾ al-rāshidīn*, 67 #54.

[928] Muḥammad ibn ʿIsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 13:343 #4102; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:609 #1039; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 18:245 #20679; *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, 3:48 #2432.

[929] Muḥammad ibn ʿIsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 6:82 #3722; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:450 #8450; *Khaṣāʾiṣ ʿAlī*, 133 #119; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 12:59 #32733; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:125 #4630.

ʿAlī said: The Messenger of God ﷺ said to me: "There are certain words that if you say them, even if your sins have not been forgiven, God will forgive them. Shall I teach you those words? Say: [and he taught him the words to say]'."[930] Translation of the supplication: There is no god but God, the Exalted, the Most Great. There is no god but God, the Forbearing, the Generous. There is no god but God, the Lord of the Great Throne, the Most Magnificent, free from all imperfection. Praise is for God, the Lord of all the worlds.

The miracles witnessed about ʿAlī:

أَنَّ عَلِيًّا سَأَلَ رَجُلًا عَنْ حَدِيثٍ فِي الرَّحَبَةِ فَكَذَّبَهُ. فَقَالَ: إِنَّكَ قَدْ كَذَّبْتَنِي. فَقَالَ: مَا كَذَّبْتُكَ. قَالَ: فَأَدْعُو اللَّهَ عَلَيْكَ إِنْ كُنْتَ قَدْ كَذَّبْتَنِي أَنْ يُعْمِيَ اللَّهُ بَصَرَكَ. قَالَ: فَدَعَا اللَّهَ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ أَنْ يُعْمِيَهُ، فَعَمِيَ.

ʿAlī asked a man about the speech he gave in the square of Kūfah. The man denied ʿAlī. ʿAlī said, "You have lied about me." The man replied, "I did not lie about you, I spoke the truth." ʿAlī said, "If you have lied about me, I will pray (curse) to God to make you blind." ʿAlī then prayed to God, the Almighty, to make that man's eyes blind. (Soon after) his eyes became blind. [931]

ʿAlī's strong commitment to the religion of Islam.

قَالَ عَلِيٌّ: إِذَا حَدَّثْتُكُمْ عَنْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم فَلأَنْ أَخِرَّ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ أَحَبُّ إِلَيَّ مِنْ أَنْ أَقُولَ عَلَيْهِ مَا لَمْ يَقُلْ. وَإِذَا حَدَّثْتُكُمْ فِيمَا بَيْنِي

[930] Muḥammad ibn ʿIsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 12:489 #3843; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:131 #7630, 7:418 #8356, 8360; *ʿAmal al-yawm wa-al-laylah*, 408 #637, 638; *Khaṣāʾiṣ ʿAlī*, 50 #25–30; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 1:92 #712, 1:158 #1363; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:711 #1216; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār*, 2:231 #627; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:371 #6928; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:138 #4670; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, 3:367 #3421; *al-Muʿjam al-ṣaghīr*, 1:218 #350; *al-Duʿāʾ*, 312 #1022; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim Aḥmad ibn ʿAmr, *al-Sunnah*, 2:597 #1314; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 10:269 #29967.

[931] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 1:539 #900; *al-Zuhd*, 132 #697; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, 2:219 #1791; Hibat Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan al-Lālakāʾī, *Karāmāt al-awliyāʾ*, 9:133 #73.

وَبَيْنَكُمْ فَإِنَّ الْحَرْبَ خَدْعَةٌ. سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم يَقُولُ: «سَيَخْرُجُ فِي آخِرِ الزَّمَانِ قَوْمٌ أَحْدَاثُ الْأَسْنَانِ سُفَهَاءُ الأَحْلاَمِ. يَقُولُونَ مِنْ خَيْرِ قَوْلِ الْبَرِيَّةِ. يَقْرَءُونَ الْقُرْآنَ، لاَ يُجَاوِزُ حَنَاجِرَهُمْ. يَمْرُقُونَ مِنَ الدِّينِ كَمَا يَمْرُقُ السَّهْمُ مِنَ الرَّمِيَّةِ. فَإِذَا لَقِيتُمُوهُمْ فَاقْتُلُوهُمْ. فَإِنَّ فِي قَتْلِهِمْ أَجْرًا لِمَنْ قَتَلَهُمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ. »

ʿAlī said: "When I speak to you about the Messenger of God ﷺ even if I were to fall from the sky to the earth, it would be more beloved to me than speaking a lie in his name. When I speak to you privately, war is deception. I heard the Messenger of God ﷺ say: 'In the latter days, a group will arise, young in age, weak in intellect, (fantastical, frivolous), who will speak the best-sounding words. (They will speak of the Qurʾān and the sunnah.) They will read the Qurʾān, but their recitation will not exceed their throats. (It will not penetrate their hearts.) Just as the arrow passes through its target, they too will leave the religion. When you encounter them, kill them. On the Day of Judgment, those who kill them will have reward with God'."[932]

عَنْ أَبِي سَعِيدٍ الْخُدْرِيِّ قَالَ: اشْتَكَى عَلِيًّا النَّاسُ. قَالَ: فَقَامَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فِينَا خَطِيبًا. فَسَمِعْتُهُ يَقُولُ: « أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ لاَ تَشْكُوا عَلِيًّا، فَوَاللَّهِ إِنَّهُ لَأُخَيْشِنٌ فِي ذَاتِ اللهِ، أَوْ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ. »

Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī said: "The people complained about ʿAlī. The Messenger of God ﷺ delivered a sermon. I heard him say: 'O, people, do not complain about ʿAlī. I swear by God, God is the harshest concerning His own Self, or concerning the way of God'."[933]

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[932] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 4:244 #3611, 9:21 #6930; Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 3:113 #2511.

[933] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 18:337 #11817; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:679 #1161; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:134 #4654; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, 1:68.

ʿAlī's firm stance in faith (Islam):

عَنِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ، أَنَّ عَلِيًّا كَانَ يَقُولُ فِي حَيَاةِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: « إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ يَقُولُ: ﴿ أَفَإِنْ مَاتَ أَوْ قُتِلَ انْقَلَبْتُمْ عَلَى أَعْقَابِكُمْ ﴾. وَاللَّهِ، لاَ نَنْقَلِبُ عَلَى أَعْقَابِنَا بَعْدَ إِذْ هَدَانَا اللَّهُ. وَلَئِنْ مَاتَ أَوْ قُتِلَ لَأُقَاتِلَنَّ عَلَى مَا قَاتَلَ عَلَيْهِ حَتَّى أَمُوتَ. وَاللَّهِ إِنِّي لَأَخُوهُ، وَوَلِيُّهُ، وَابْنُ عَمِّهِ، وَوَارِثُهُ. وَمَنْ أَحَقُّ بِهِ مِنِّي ؟»

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās said: When the Messenger of God ﷺ was alive, ʿAlī used to say: "God, the Exalted and Majestic says: 'Now, if he dies or is killed, will you turn back to your old ways (to your former religion)?'[934] I swear by God, after God has guided us, we will never return to our old ways. If he dies or is killed, I will fight for the same cause for which he fought, until I die. I swear by God, I am his brother, his protector, his uncle's son, and his heir. Who else could have more right than me?'."[935]

ʿAlī's adherence to the Sunnah of the Prophet ﷺ:

عَنْ أَنَسِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ قَالَ: « قَدِمَ عَلِيٌّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وسلم مِنَ الْيَمَنِ. فَقَالَ: بِمَا أَهْلَلْتَ ؟ قَالَ: بِمَا أَهَلَّ بِهِ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم. فَقَالَ: لَوْلاَ أَنَّ مَعِيَ الْهَدْيَ لأَحْلَلْتُ .»

Anas ibn Mālik said: ʿAlī came to the Prophet ﷺ from Yemen. The Prophet ﷺ asked him, "Which type of pilgrimage (Ḥajj) did you enter into *iḥram* for?" ʿAlī replied, "I entered the same type that the Prophet ﷺ did." The Prophet ﷺ said, "If I did not have the sacrificial offering with

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[934] Q. Āl ʿImrān, 3:144.

[935] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:652 #1110; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:431 #8396; *Khaṣāʾiṣ ʿAlī*, 80 #65; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 1:86 #174; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:126 #4635; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh, *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥābah*, 1:383 #340; al-Ḥusayn ibn Ismāʿīl al-Mahāmilī, *al-Amālī*, 163 #134; Ibn Abī Ḥātim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad, *al-Tafsīr*, 3:777 #4261; al-Ḍiyāʾ al-Maqdisī Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, *al-Aḥādīth al-mukhtārah*, 2:233 #612.

me (i.e., the sacrificial animal for Ḥajj), I would have broken my *iḥram* (and intended for the ʿumrah of *tamattuʿ*)."[936]

عَنْ عَلِيٍّ قَالَ: « رَأَيْنَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم قَامَ ، فَقُمْنَا ، وَقَعَدَ فَقَعَدْنَا. يَعْنِي فِي الْجَنَازَةِ ».

ʿAlī said: "When I saw the Prophet ﷺ stand up at a funeral, we also stood up. When he sat down, we sat down as well." [937]

Abū Maṭar al-Basrī said: ʿAlī bought a garment for three dirhams. When he put it on, he said, "Praise be to God, who has granted me a garment that will cover my private parts and make me look presentable among the people." Then he said, "I heard the Prophet ﷺ say this."[938]

Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh's statements about ʿAlī: ʿAtīyah ibn Saʿīd al-ʿAwfī said: We went to Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh. (Due to old age,) his eyebrows were drooping over his eyes. We asked him about ʿAlī. After lifting his eyebrows with his hands, he said, "He is among the best of humanity." [939] Ḍirār ibn Ḍamrah, the standard-bearer in the Battle of Ṣiffīn, entered the presence of Muʿāwiyah following the martyrdom of ʿAlī. Muʿāwiyah said to him, "O, Ḍirār, describe ʿAlī to me." Ḍirār responded, "O, Commander of the Believers, excuse me from doing so." Muʿāwiyah said, "You are not excused; you must describe him." Ḍirār said: "If there is no alternative, then by God, he was a man of far-

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[936] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 2:172 #1558; Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 4:59 #3085.

[937] Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 3:58 #2274; Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Mājah, *al-Sunan*, 2:495 #1544; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 1:83 #631; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 1:178 #288; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 4:44 #6887.

[938] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 1:157 #1353; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:710 #1214; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Duʿāʾ*, 142 #395; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 1:253 #295; ʿAbd ibn Ḥumayd, *al-Muntakhab min al-Musnad*, 62 #96; Hannād ibn al-Sarī, *al-Zuhd*, 2:370 #712.

[939] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:546 #949; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 12:79 #32783; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Muwaḍḍiḥ awhām al-jamʿ wa-al-tafrīq*, 1:402 #480; Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyá al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 2:103 #36; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Abū ʿAlī al-Sawwāf, *al-Fawāʾid*, 84 #33.

reaching vision, of immense strength, whose speech was a decisive differentiation between truth and falsehood. He would adjudicate with equity, and knowledge poured forth from all parts of him. He spoke with wisdom. He disdained the world and its adornments. He found companionship in the night and its darkness. His eyes were frequently tearful, and his contemplation prolonged. He would turn his hand and address himself. He was content with a simple garment and with coarse food made from roughly ground flour.

By God, he was like one of us. When we would approach him, he would draw us near. When we asked him questions, he would respond to us. Yet, despite our closeness to him, out of awe for him, we could not speak freely in his presence. When he smiled, his teeth appeared like a string of pearls. He would magnify the people of religion and love the destitute and the poor. The strong could not hope to obtain anything from him through falsehood, nor would the weak despair of his justice. By God, I bear witness that I have seen him on numerous occasions during the darkness of night, when the stars had appeared, standing in prayer, holding his beard, groaning like one bitten by a serpent, weeping with grief, and saying: 'O, my Lord, O, my Lord.' He would then address the world, saying: 'O, world, do you turn towards me? Do you desire me? Far be it from you! Far be it! Entice someone else. I have divorced you thrice, with no return [In Islamic law, if couple marries and divorces three times, they can never get married again]. Your life is brief, your value insignificant, and your provision meager. Alas for the paucity of provisions, the remotAnass of the journey, and the loneliness of the path.'

Upon hearing this, Muʿāwiyah wept, wiping away his tears with the sleeve of his garment. All who were present wept until their throats were choked with tears. Muʿāwiyah then said, 'May God have mercy on Abū al-Ḥasan. By God, he was indeed such a man. O, Ḍirār, how great was your sorrow for him?' Ḍirār replied, 'My sorrow for him is like that of a woman whose child has been slaughtered in her lap: her tears never cease, and her grief never abates.' Then he rose and departed from the assembly."[940]

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[940] Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, 1:84; Hibat Allāh ibn ʿAlī al-Shajarī, *Tartīb al-amālī al-khamīsīyah*, 2:431 #3009; Ibn Abī al-Dunyá ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *Maqtal ʿAlī*, 1:89; Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb*, 3:1107; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat al-ṣafwah*, 1:315; Muḥibb

ʿAlī's Asceticism and His Indifference Toward Worldly Life

On this topic, we shall relate several reports transmitted from various individuals: Muslim ibn Hurmuz said: "'Alī distributed wealth to the people three times in a single year. On another occasion, wealth arrived from Iṣfahān. He proclaimed, 'Come and take wealth a fourth time.' He distributed all of it, leaving nothing behind. Then he had the public treasury swept clean, and he performed two cycles of prayer within it. Afterward, he addressed the world, saying: 'O, world, deceive someone else.' Muslim further related: 'A coil of rope arrived from somewhere. He asked, "What is this?" They said, "It is a rope sent from such-and-such a land." He said, "Distribute it to the people." Some among the people took from that rope, while others did not. Those who took from it later examined it and found it was made of linen. Toward evening, those who had taken it sold it for money.'[941]

Mujammiʿ al-Taymī said: 'After distributing all of the goods collected in the public treasury, 'Alī would command that the treasury be swept and sprinkled with water. Then he would perform two cycles of prayer within it, so that the ground itself would testify on the Day of Resurrection that he had not detained the wealth of the Muslims nor withheld it from the people.'[942] (ʿĀmir) ibn al-Nabbāḥ, his caller to prayer, came to him and said: 'O, Commander of the Believers, the public treasury is filled with yellow and white (i.e., gold and silver).' 'Alī replied: 'God is Most Great.' Then he stood up, leaned on Ibn al-Nabbāḥ, and said, 'This is what I myself have gathered and decided upon. He who gathers hoards keeps his hand to his mouth (i.e., remains selfish). O, Ibn al-Nabbāḥ, summon the elders of Kūfah.' So the people were summoned. When all the wealth in the treasury had been distributed, 'Alī said: 'O, yellow (gold), O, white (silver), deceive someone else!' He repeated this statement until not a single *dīnār* [gold coin] or dirham [silver coin] remained. Then the treasury was swept, and water

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al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭabarī, *Dhakhāʾir al-ʿuqbá fī manāqib dhawī al-qurbá*, 1:100; *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍirah*, 1:276; Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr al-Anṣārī al-Burrī, *al-Jawharah fī nasab al-nabī wa-aṣḥābih al-ʿasharah*, 2:241.

941 Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 1:531 #882; Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī, *al-Sharīʿah*, 4:1762 #1218.

942 Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 1:533 #886.

was sprinkled upon the floor. When there was nothing left, he performed two cycles of prayer within it.[943] ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saḥbarah narrated the following: 'In Kūfah, everyone lived in comfort. Even the lowest of them ate wheat bread, sat in the shade, and drank from the waters of the Euphrates'."[944]

Harūn ibn ʿAntarah narrated from his father ʿAntarah, who said: My father was a close companion of Qanbar. He said: I once went with Qanbar to ʿAlī. I said, "O, Commander of the Believers, rise and come with me; I have kept many things hidden for you." He went with my father to his home. He showed him a basket full of vessels made of gold and silver and said: "O, Commander of the Believers, you have distributed everything among the people without leaving anything behind" (intending to offer this as a personal gift to ʿAlī). ʿAlī drew his sword and said: "Woe unto you! You want to bring a great fire into my house!" Then he struck the vessels with his sword, shattering them and scattering them around. He commanded: "Summon the appointed officers!" When they came, he said: "Divide these into shares and distribute them." As they were distributing them, ʿAlī was saying: "O, yellow (gold), O, white (silver), go and deceive someone else." Then he recited the following couplet: "This is what I have gathered, and this is the decision I have made concerning it. Whoever gathers (wealth) holds his hand to his mouth" (i.e., he will inevitably partake of it, just as one who gathers fruit will surely eat of it as well). There remained in the public treasury some rope and sewing needles. He would take from the handicrafts of each community their share of *kharāj* (land tax). He said to the officers: "Distribute these to the people." They said: "We have no need of them." ʿAlī replied: "By the One in Whose Hand is my soul, I shall divide its good and its bad alike (i.e., its value and its lack thereof)."[945]

Abū Maṭar said: I saw ʿAlī wearing a shirt with a cloak over it, carrying a staff in his hand. He looked like a wandering Bedouin *aʿrābī*.

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[943] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 1:531 #884; Abū al-Faraj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat al-ṣafwah*, 1:118; *al-Tadhkirah*, 1:449; Muḥibb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭabarī, *Dhakhāʾir al-ʿuqbá fī manāqib dhawī al-qurbá*, 1:101; *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍirah*, 1:286.

[944] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 1:531 #883; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 13:285 #35650; Hannād ibn al-Sarī, *al-Zuhd*, 2:366 #699.

[945] Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 6:458 #32900.

He entered the marketplace of cotton textiles and said to a merchant: "O, Shaykh, sell me a good shirt for three dirhams. Treat me generously in the transaction." When the shopkeeper recognized him, he refused to take any money from him. ʿAlī declined to take it from him. He went to another, who also recognized him and likewise refused to accept payment. Finally, he approached a young man and purchased a shirt from him for three dirhams. When the young man's father came to the shop, his son informed him of what had transpired. The father took one dirham and came to ʿAlī, saying: "O, Commander of the Believers, please take this dirham (for my son has overcharged you)." ʿAlī asked: "What is the meaning of this dirham?" The man said: "The price of the shirt you bought was only two dirhams." ʿAlī replied: "I bought it willingly, and he sold it willingly." He refused to take the dirham. [946]

Ḥabbah al-ʿAwrānī narrated from ʿAlī: A dessert known as *falūdhaj* was placed before him. ʿAlī addressed the dessert, saying: "You are fragrant in scent, fair in appearance, and pleasant in taste, but I do not wish to accustom my soul to something it is unaccustomed to." Then he refrained from eating it. [947]

[946] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 1:528 #878.
[947] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 1:544 #910.

ʿALĪ'S CHARITABLE DEEDS

The account concerning ʿAlī's *waqf* (charitable endowment) is reported in *al-Sunan al-kubrá* by al-Bayhaqī and in *Tārīkh Madīnah* by Ibn Shabbah as follows:

عَنْ جَعْفَرِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ: « أَنَّ عَلِيَّ بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ قَطَعَ لَهُ عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا يَنْبُعَ. ثُمَّ اشْتَرَى عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ إِلَى قَطِيعَةِ عُمَرَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ أَشْيَاءَ. فَحَفَرَ فِيهَا عَيْنًا. فَبَيْنَا هُمْ يَعْمَلُونَ فِيهَا إِذْ تَفَجَّرَ عَلَيْهِمْ مِثْلُ عُنُقِ الْجَزُورِ مِنَ الْمَاءِ. فَأُتِيَ عَلِيٌّ وَبُشِّرَ بِذَلِكَ. قَالَ: بَشِّرِ الْوَارِثَ. ثُمَّ تَصَدَّقَ بِهَا عَلَى الْفُقَرَاءِ، وَالْمَسَاكِينِ، وَفِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ، وَابْنِ السَّبِيلِ الْقَرِيبِ، وَالْبَعِيدِ، وَفِي السِّلْمِ، وَفِي الْحَرْبِ، لِيَوْمٍ تَبْيَضُّ وُجُوهٌ وَتَسْوَدُّ وُجُوهٌ. لِيَصْرِفَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى بِهَا وَجْهِي عَنِ النَّارِ، وَيَصْرِفَ النَّارَ عَنْ وَجْهِي .»

Jaʿfar (al-Ṣādiq) transmitted from his father Muḥammad (al-Bāqir): ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb granted ʿAlī the land of Yanbuʿ as an *iqṭāʿ* (land allotment). ʿAlī then purchased additional plots adjacent to the land given by ʿUmar. They excavated in search of water on that land. While the diggers were working to find water, a spring burst forth with a flow as thick as a camel's neck. They came to ʿAlī and gave him the glad tidings. ʿAlī said: "Give this glad tidings to the one who shall inherit it." He then dedicated the land as *ṣadaqah* (charitable gift), declaring it *waqf* (charitable endowment) for the poor, the destitute, for causes in the path of God, for both relatives and non-relatives, the near and the far, for travelers, during times of war and peace, hoping thereby that God, Exalted is He, would protect him from the fire of Hell and keep Hell distant from him on the Day when faces will be either bright or dark. [948]

The version of the report found in *al-Muṣannaf* by ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī contains greater detail:

[948] Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 6:160 #12244; ʿUmar ibn Shabbah, *Tārīkh Madīnah*, 1:220 #542.

عَنْ أَيُّوبَ، أَنَّهُ أَخَذَ هَذَا الْكِتَابَ مِنْ عَمْرِو بْنِ دِينَارٍ. « هَذَا مَا أَقَرَّ بِهِ وَقَضَى فِي مَالِهِ عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ. تَصَدَّقَ بِيَنْبُعَ ابْتِغَاءَ مَرْضَاةِ اللَّهِ لِيُولِجَنِي الْجَنَّةَ، وَيَصْرِفَ النَّارَ عَنِّي، وَيَصْرِفَنِي عَنِ النَّارِ. فَهِيَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ وَوَجْهِهِ. يُنْفَقُ فِي كُلِّ نَفَقَةٍ مِنْ سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ وَوَجْهِهِ. فِي الْحَرْبِ وَالسِّلْمِ، وَالْخَيْرِ، وَذَوِي الرَّحِمِ، وَالْقَرِيبِ وَالْبَعِيدِ. لاَ يُبَاعُ، وَلاَ يُوهَبُ، وَلاَ يُورَّثُ كُلُّ مَالٍ فِي يَنْبُعَ. غَيْرَ أَنَّ رَبَاحًا، وَأَبَا نِيزَرٍ، وَجُبَيْرًا، إِنْ حَدَثَ بِي حَدَثٌ لَيْسَ عَلَيْهِمْ سَبِيلٌ. ، وَهُمْ مُحَرَّرُونَ. مَوَالٍ يَعْمَلُونَ فِي الْمَالِ خَمْسَ حِجَجٍ. وَفِيهِ نَفَقَاتُهُمْ وَرِزْقُهُمْ ، وَرِزْقُ أَهْلِيهِمْ. فَذَلِكَ الَّذِي أَقْضِي فِيمَا كَانَ لِي فِي يَنْبُعَ جَانِبِهِ حَيًّا أَنَا أَوْ مَيِّتًا. وَمَعَهَا مَا كَانَ لِي بِوَادِي الْقُرَى مِنْ مَالٍ، وَرَقِيقٍ. حَيًّا أَنَا أَوْ مَيِّتًا. وَمَعَ ذَلِكَ ٱلْأُذَيْنَةُ وَأَهْلُهَا حَيًّا أَنَا أَوْ مَيِّتًا. وَمَعَ ذَلِكَ رَعْدٌ وَأَهْلُهَا. غَيْرَ أَنَّ زُرَيْقًا مِثْلُ مَا كَتَبْتُ لِأَبِي نِيزَرٍ وَرَبَاحٍ وَجُبَيْرٍ. وَأَنَّ يَنْبُعَ وَمَا فِي وَادِي الْقُرَى وَٱلْأُذَيْنَةِ وَرَعْدٌ، يُنْفَقُ فِي كُلِّ نَفَقَةٍ ابْتِغَاءَ بِذَلِكَ وَجْهَ اللَّهِ فِي سَبِيلِهِ يَوْمَ تَسْوَدُّ وُجُوهٌ وَتَبْيَضُّ وُجُوهٌ. لاَ يُبَعْنَ، وَلاَ يُوهَبْنَ، وَلاَ يُورَّثْنَ إِلاَّ إِلَى اللَّهِ. هُوَ يَتَقَبَّلَهُنَّ وَهُو يَرِثُهُنَّ. فَذَلِكَ قَضِيَّةٌ بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَ اللَّهِ الغدَ مِنْ يَوْمِ قَدِمْتُ مَسْكَنَ حَيًّا أَنَا أَوْ مَيِّتًا. فَهَذَا مَا قَضَى عَلِيٌّ فِي مَالِهِ وَاجِبَةً بَتْلَةً. ثُمَّ يَقُومُ عَلَى ذَلِكَ بَنُو عَلِيٍّ بِأَمَانَةٍ وَإِصْلاَحٍ، كَإِصْلاَحِهِمْ أَمْوَالَهُمْ. يُزْرَعُ، وَيُصْلَحُ كَإِصْلاَحِهِمْ أَمْوَالَهُمْ. وَلاَ يُبَاعُ مِنْ أَوْلاَدِ عَلِيٍّ مِنْ هَذِهِ الْقُرَى ٱلْأَرْبَعِ وَدِيَّةٌ وَاحِدَةٌ، حَتَّى يَسُدَّ أَرْضَهَا غِرَاسُهَا، قَائِمَةً عِمَارَتُهَا لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَوَّلِهِمْ وَآخِرِهِمْ. فَمَنْ وَلِيَهَا مِنَ النَّاسِ فَأُذَكِّرُ اللَّهَ إِلاَّ جَهَدَ وَنَصَحَ، وَحَفِظَ أَمَانَتَهُ. هَذَاكِتَابُ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ بِيَدِهِ إِذْ قَدِمَ مَسْكَنَ، وَقَدْ أَوْصَيْتُ ... الْفَقِيرَيْنِ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ وَاجِبَةً بَتْلَةً. وَمَالُ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم عَلَى نَاحِيَتِهِ يُنْفَقُ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ وَوَجْهِهِ، وَذِي الرَّحِمِ، وَالْفُقَرَاءِ، وَالْمَسَاكِينِ، وَابْنِ السَّبِيلِ، يَأْكُلُ مِنْهُ عُمَّالُهُ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ غَيْرَ الْمُنْكَرِ

بِأَمَانَةٍ وَإِصْلاحٍ، كَإِصْلاحِهِ مَالَهُ. يَزْرَعُ وَيَنْصَحُ وَيَجْتَهِدُ. هَذَا مَا قَضَى عَلِيٌّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ فِي هَذِهِ الأَمْوَالِ الَّتِي كَتَبَ فِي هَذِهِ الصَّحِيفَةِ. وَاللَّهُ الْمُسْتَعَانُ عَلَى كُلِّ حَالٍ. أَمَّا بَعْدُ، فَإِنَّ وَلائِدِي اللاتِي أَطُوفُ عَلَيْهِنَّ التِّسْعَ عَشْرَةَ، مِنْهُنَّ أُمَّهَاتُ أَوْلادٍ، وَأَوْلادُهُنَّ أَحْيَاءٌ مَعَهُنَّ. وَمِنْهُنَّ حَبَالَى، وَمِنْهُنَّ مَنْ لا وَلَدَ لَهَا. فَقَضَيْتُ إِنْ حَدَثَ بِي حَدَثٌ فِي هَذَا الْغَزْوِ. أَنَّ مَنْ كَانَ مِنْهُنَّ لَيْسَ لَهَا وَلَدٌ، وَلَيْسَتْ بِحُبْلَى، عَتِيقَةٌ لِوَجْهِ اللَّهِ. لَيْسَ لأَحَدٍ عَلَيْهَا سَبِيلٌ. وَمَنْ كَانَ مِنْهُنَّ حُبْلَى أَوْ لَهَا وَلَدٌ، تُمْسَكُ عَلَى وَلَدِهَا. فَهِيَ مِنْ حَظِّهِ. فَإِنْ مَاتَ وَلَدُهَا، وَهِيَ حَيَّةٌ فَلَيْسَ لأَحَدٍ عَلَيْهَا سَبِيلٌ. هَذَا مَا قَضَيْتُ فِي وَلائِدِي التِّسْعَ عَشْرَةَ. وَشَهِدَ عُبَيْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ أَبِي رَافِعٍ، وَهَيَّاجُ بْنُ أَبِي هَيَّاجٍ، وَكَتَبَ عَلِيٌّ بِيَدِهِ. لِعَشْرٍ لَيَالٍ خَلَوْنَ مِنْ جُمَادَى الأُولَى سَنَةَ تِسْعٍ وَثَلاثِينَ سَنَةً ».

Ayyūb transmitted, he had received this document from ʿAmr ibn Dīnār. It is a judgment and decision taken by ʿAlī, the son of Abū Ṭālib, regarding his own property. He stated: "In order to attain the pleasure of God, that He may admit me into Paradise, protect me from the fire (of Hell), and keep the fire distant from me, I have given Yanbuʿ as *ṣadaqah* (charitable gift) I have made it *waqf* (charitable gift). This property shall be expended during war and peace, in charitable causes, for relatives whether near or distant, in the path of God, and for His pleasure. No part of the property at Yanbuʿ may be sold, gifted, or inherited. However, if something should happen to me, then Rabāḥ, Abū Nīyazar, and Jubayr (my slaves) are free. No one has any right over them. These individuals shall work on the property at Yanbuʿ as freedmen (*mawālī*) for five years. Their sustenance and that of their families shall be provided from this property. This is my ruling regarding Yanbuʿ, both during my lifetime and after my death. During my life and after my death, the property and slaves at Wādī al-Qurá are also included in this. Likewise, during my life and after my death, the land of Udhaynah along with its people, and the land of Raʿd along with its people, are also included. However, the land of Zurayq shall be subject to the ruling I have written for Abū Nīzar, Rabāḥ, and Jubayr.

My property at Yanbuʿ and Wādī al-Qurá, the land of Udhaynah, and the land of Raʿd, shall all be spent in causes for the sake of God and for matters in the path of God on the Day when faces will be bright or dark. These lands may not be sold, nor may they be gifted, and they shall not be inherited by anyone other than God. God will accept them, and they will belong to Him, they shall be inherited by Him. This is a judgment between me and God. Whether I live or die, it shall be effective from the morning following the day I arrived at Maskan (a place in Iraq near the Dujayl River). This decision is a definitive and obligatory ruling regarding my property. My sons shall administer it as a trust, just as they manage their own properties. The land shall be cultivated and worked just as their own property is. These four villages shall not be purchased from my sons. All of them shall be considered a single unit until the planted saplings recover the value of the land. The cultivation and maintenance of these lands shall be the responsibility of the believers from beginning to end.

To whoever among the people assumes its administration, I remind him of God with regard to striving, sincere effort, and the safeguarding of the trust. This is the written decree of ʿAlī, son of Abū Ṭālib, upon his arrival at Maskan. To two needy persons… I have bequeathed in the path of God as an obligation. Just as it was the property of the Messenger of God ﷺ it shall be spent for the sake of God, in His path, for relatives, the poor, the destitute, and the travelers. Those working on this land, without doing anything blameworthy, shall eat from it through trust and maintenance. The land shall be cultivated sincerely, just as one tends to his own property. This is the ruling of ʿAlī, son of Abū Ṭālib, written in this document regarding these properties. God is the One from whom help is sought in every condition.

After this: Among my nineteen female slaves, some are mothers of children, they have borne me children, and their children live with them. Some are pregnant, and some are neither mothers nor pregnant. If something should happen to me in this battle I am undertaking, those who have neither children nor are pregnant shall be freed for the sake of God. No one has any right over them. As for those who have children or are pregnant, they shall remain due to their children. They shall be retained on account of their children. If their child dies while they are alive, then no one shall have any right over them. This is my judgment concerning these nineteen female slaves. ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Rāfiʿ and

Hayyāj ibn Abī Hayyāj bore witness to it. ʿAlī wrote it in his own hand on the tenth day of the month of Jumādá al-ūlá in the thirty-ninth year of the hijrah [3rd of October, 659]. [949]

ʿAlī also assumed the debt of a person who had died in debt:

عَنْ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِى طَالِبٍ قَالَ: « كَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم إِذَا أُتِيَ بِجَنَازَةٍ لَمْ يَسْأَلْ عَنْ شَيْءٍ مِنْ عَمَلِ الرَّجُلِ، إِلاَّ أَنْ يَسْأَلَ عَنْ دَيْنِهِ. فَإِنْ قِيلَ: عَلَيْهِ دَيْنٌ كَفَّ عَنِ الصَّلاَةِ عَلَيْهِ. وَإِنْ قِيلَ: لَيْسَ عَلَيْهِ دَيْنٌ، صَلَّى عَلَيْهِ. فَأُتِيَ بِجَنَازَةٍ. فَلَمَّا قَامَ سَأَلَ أَصْحَابَهُ: هَلْ عَلَى صَاحِبِكُمْ مِنْ دَيْنٍ؟ قَالُوا: عَلَيْهِ دِينَارَانِ دَيْنٌ. فَعَدَلَ عَنْهُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم ، فَقَالَ: صَلُّوا عَلَى صَاحِبِكُمْ. فَقَالَ عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِى طَالِبٍ رَضِىَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ: يَا نَبِيَّ اللَّهِ ، هُمَا عَلَيَّ، بَرِئَ مِنْهُمَا. فَتَقَدَّمَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم فَصَلَّى عَلَيْهِ، ثُمَّ قَالَ: يَا عَلِيُّ جَزَاكَ اللَّهُ خَيْرًا. فَكَّ اللَّهُ رِهَانَكَ كَمَا فَكَكْتَ رِهَانَ أَخِيكَ. إِنَّهُ لَيْسَ مِنْ مَيِّتٍ يَمُوتُ وَعَلَيْهِ دَيْنٌ، إِلاَّ وَهُوَ مُرْتَهِنٌ بِدَيْنِهِ. فَمَنْ فَكَّ رِهَانَ مَيِّتٍ، فَكَّ اللَّهُ رِهَانَهُ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ. فَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ: هَذَا لِعَلِيٍّ خَاصَّةً، أَمْ لِلْمُسْلِمِينَ عَامَّةً ؟ فَقَالَ: لاَ بَلْ لِلْمُسْلِمِينَ عَامَّةً. »

ʿAlī, the son of Abū Ṭālib, said: "When a deceased person was brought to the Messenger of God ﷺ for the funeral prayer, he would not inquire about the person's deeds, but he would ask about his debts. If it was said that the person was in debt, he would not lead the funeral prayer for him. But if it was said that he had no debts, he would lead the prayer." On one occasion, a deceased person was brought forth. As the Messenger of God ﷺ stood to perform the funeral prayer, he asked his Companions: "Does your companion have any debt?" The Companions replied, "He has a debt of two *dīnār*s." At that, the Messenger of God ﷺ refrained from leading the prayer and said, "Perform the prayer for your companion."

ʿAlī then said, "O, Messenger of God, I take the responsibility for his debt." As a result, that man was now considered free of debt. The

[949] ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, 10:374 #19414.

Messenger of God ﷺ then stepped forward, led the funeral prayer, and after finishing said: "O, ʿAlī, may God reward you with good. Just as you have lifted the burden of your brother's debt, may God lift your burdens. Whenever a person dies while owing a debt, he is under obligation due to that debt. Whoever removes this obligation by paying the deceased's debt, God will lift his burdens on the Day of Resurrection." Some asked, "Is this [reward] specific to ʿAlī, or does it apply to all Muslims?" The Messenger of God ﷺ replied: "It is for all Muslims." [950] This ḥadīth was also transmitted by Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī. [951]

Assessment of This Ḥadīth: When a deceased person was brought to the Messenger of God ﷺ in order that he might lead the funeral prayer, he would inquire whether the person had any outstanding debt. This matter is transmitted in many ḥadīth collections. In order to understand the issue more fully, we shall present the transmissions found in the collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim.

Salamah ibn al-Akwaʿ narrated: We were sitting in the presence of the Prophet ﷺ. A deceased person [already washed and wrapped for burial] was brought. They said: "Pray over him." He asked: "Does he have any debt?" They replied: "No, he does not." He then asked: "Did he leave behind anything of wealth?" They said: "No." So he led the funeral prayer. Another deceased person was brought. They said: "O, Messenger of God, pray over him." He asked: "Does he have any debt?" They said: "Yes." He asked: "Did he leave anything behind?" They said: "He left three *dīnār*s." He led the prayer over him as well. A third deceased person was brought. They said: "Pray over him." He asked: "Did he leave anything behind?" They said: "No." He asked: "Does he have any debt?" They said: "Yes, he owes three *dīnār*s." He said: "Pray over your companion." Abū Qatādah said: "O, Messenger of God, pray over him; I shall take on his debt." He then led the prayer. [952] Muslim also transmitted the following narration: Abū Hurayrah narrated: When someone who had died in debt was brought to the Messenger of God ﷺ he would ask: "Did he leave any wealth to pay his debt?" If he was told

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[950] ʿAlī ibn ʿUmar al-Dāraquṭnī, *al-Sunan*, 3:466 #2984; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 6:73 #11732.

[951] ʿAlī ibn ʿUmar al-Dāraquṭnī, *al-Sunan*, 4:53 #3082; ʿAbd ibn Ḥumayd, *al-Muntakhab*, 281 #893; al-Ḥusayn ibn Masʿūd al-Baghawī, *Sharḥ al-sunnah*, 8:214 #2155.

[952] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 3:124 #2289, 3:126 #2295.

that he had left enough to cover the debt, he would lead the prayer. If he had left nothing, he would say: "Pray over your companion." After God granted him conquests, he said: "I am closer to the believers than their own selves. Whoever dies indebted, his debt is my responsibility, and whatever wealth he leaves belongs to his heirs." [953]

From these two transmissions, it is understood that the Messenger of God ﷺ would not lead the prayer over someone who had died while in debt. Rather, he would instruct his Companions: "Pray over your companion." This pattern of conduct, as evident from the transmissions, occurred on multiple occasions. According to the narration of al-Bukhārī, it was Abū Qatādah who took on the debt. In the ḥadīth concerning ʿAlī, it was ʿAlī who assumed the debt. Numerous Companions have transmitted ḥadīths pertaining to this matter. Among them, we may mention: ʿAlī, Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, Abū Hurayrah, Salamah ibn al-Akwaʿ, Samurah ibn Jundub, Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh, al-Ḥārith ibn Ribʿī, Anas ibn Mālik, Zayd ibn Khālid al-Juhanī, and Abū Umāmah al-Bāhilī.

Although the livelihood of ʿAlī and Fāṭimah was marked by great hardship, they exercised patience. In light of its significance, we present once more a ḥadīth previously mentioned regarding the marriage of ʿAlī and Fāṭimah.

عَنْ عَلِيٍّ: « أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ لَمَّا زَوَّجَهُ فَاطِمَةَ بَعَثَ مَعَهُ بِخَمِيلَةٍ، وَوِسَادَةٍ مِنْ أَدَمٍ حَشْوُهَا لِيفٌ. وَرَحَيَيْنِ، وَسِقَاءٍ، وَجَرَّتَيْنِ. فَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ لِفَاطِمَةَ ذَاتَ يَوْمٍ: وَاللَّهِ لَقَدْ سَنَوْتُ حَتَّى لَقَدِ اشْتَكَيْتُ صَدْرِي. قَالَ: وَقَدْ جَاءَ اللَّهُ أَبَاكِ بِسَبْيٍ، فَاذْهَبِي فَاسْتَخْدِمِيهِ. فَقَالَتْ: وَأَنَا وَاللَّهِ قَدْ طَحَنْتُ حَتَّى مَجَلَتْ يَدَايَ. فَأَتَتِ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. فَقَالَ: مَا جَاءَ بِكِ أَيْ بُنَيَّةُ ؟ قَالَتْ: جِئْتُ لأُسَلِّمَ عَلَيْكَ. وَاسْتَحْيَتْ أَنْ تَسْأَلَهُ، وَرَجَعَتْ. فَقَالَ: مَا فَعَلْتِ ؟ قَالَتْ: اسْتَحْيَيْتُ أَنْ أَسْأَلَهُ. فَأَتَيْنَاهُ جَمِيعًا. فَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ: يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ، وَاللَّهِ لَقَدْ سَنَوْتُ حَتَّى اشْتَكَيْتُ صَدْرِي. وَقَالَتْ فَاطِمَةُ: قَدْ طَحَنْتُ حَتَّى

[953] Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 3:1237 #1619.

مَجَلَتْ يَدَايَ. وَقَدْ جَاءَكَ اللَّهُ بِسَبْيٍ وَسَعَةٍ فَأَخْدِمْنَا. فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: وَاللَّهِ لاَ أُعْطِيكُمَا وَأَدَعُ أَهْلَ الصُّفَّةِ تَطْوَى بُطُونُهُمْ. لاَ أَجِدُ مَا أُنْفِقُ عَلَيْهِمْ. وَلَكِنِّي أَبِيعُهُمْ، وَأُنْفِقُ عَلَيْهِمْ أَثْمَانَهُمْ. فَرَجَعَا. فَأَتَاهُمَا النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَقَدْ دَخَلاَ فِي قَطِيفَتِهِمَا. إِذَا غَطَّتْ رُؤُوسَهُمَا تَكَشَّفَتْ أَقْدَامُهُمَا، وَإِذَا غَطَّيَا أَقْدَامَهُمَا تَكَشَّفَتْ رُؤُوسُهُمَا. فَثَارَا. فَقَالَ: مَكَانَكُمَا، ثُمَّ قَالَ: أَلاَ أُخْبِرُكُمَا بِخَيْرٍ مِمَّا سَأَلْتُمَانِي؟ قَالاَ: بَلَى. فَقَالَ: كَلِمَاتٌ عَلَّمَنِيهِنَّ جِبْرِيلُ. فَقَالَ: تُسَبِّحَانِ فِي دُبُرِ كُلِّ صَلاَةٍ عَشْرًا، وَتَحْمَدَانِ عَشْرًا، وَتُكَبِّرَانِ عَشْرًا، وَإِذَا أَوَيْتُمَا إِلَى فِرَاشِكُمَا فَسَبِّحَا ثَلاَثًا وَثَلاَثِينَ، وَاحْمَدَا ثَلاَثًا وَثَلاَثِينَ، وَكَبِّرَا أَرْبَعًا وَثَلاَثِينَ. قَالَ: فَوَ اللهِ مَا تَرَكْتُهُنَّ مُنْذُ عَلَّمَنِيهِنَّ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. قَالَ: فَقَالَ لَهُ ابْنُ الْكَوَّاءِ : وَلاَ لَيْلَةَ صِفِّينَ ؟ قَالَ: قَاتَلَكُمُ اللَّهُ يَا أَهْلَ الْعِرَاقِ، نَعَمْ، وَلاَ لَيْلَةَ صِفِّينَ ».

ʿAlī said: When the Messenger of God ﷺ married him to Fāṭimah, he sent with her, as a dowry, a velvet covering, a pillow made of leather stuffed with palm fiber, two hand mills, a water-skin, and two jars. One day, ʿAlī said to Fāṭimah: "By God, I have drawn so much water (from the wells) that I feel pain in my chest. God has granted your father captives as spoils of war. Go to your father and ask him for a servant." Fāṭimah replied: "By God, my hands have become calloused from grinding with the hand mill." So Fāṭimah went to the Prophet ﷺ. He said: "My dear daughter, why have you come?" She replied: "I came to offer you greetings of peace and inquire after your well-being." She was too shy to ask for a servant and returned. ʿAlī said: "What did you do?" She replied: "I was too ashamed to ask." So the two of them together went to the Messenger of God ﷺ. ʿAlī said: "O, Messenger of God, by God, I have drawn so much water that I feel pain in my chest." Fāṭimah said: "And my hands have become calloused from grinding. God has granted you abundance and captives as spoils of war. Give us a servant."

The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "While the stomachs of the *ahl al-ṣuffah* (the people of the veranda) are writhing from hunger, should I give you a servant? I find nothing to spend on them. I shall sell these captives and use the proceeds to provide for them." So they returned home.

Then the Prophet ﷺ came to their house. They had covered themselves with a velvet cloth. When they covered their heads with it, their feet were left uncovered; when they covered their feet, their heads were exposed. When they saw the Messenger of God, they tried to rise. But he said: "Remain where you are," and continued: "Shall I not inform you of something better than what you requested?" They replied: "Yes." He said: "Words which Jibrāʾīl taught me: After every prayer, say ten times: *subḥān Allāh* (Glory be to God), ten times: *al-ḥamdu lillāh* (Praise be to God), and ten times: *Allāhu akbar* (God is greatest). And when you go to bed, say thirty-three times: *subḥān Allāh*, thirty-three times: *al-ḥamdu lillāh*, and thirty-three times: *Allāhu akbar*."

ʿAlī said: "By God, ever since the Messenger of God ﷺ taught me these words, I have never abandoned them." Ibn al-Kawwā asked: "Not even on the night of Ṣiffīn?" ʿAlī said: "O, people of Iraq, may God kill you, yes, not even on the night of Ṣiffīn did I abandon them." Al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, and Abū Dāwūd transmitted only the portion of the report that mentions the *tasbīḥāt* (praises).[954]

ʿAlī supported himself through labor:

عَنْ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ أَنَّهُ قَالَ: « أَصَبْتُ شَارِفًا مَعَ رَسُولِ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم فِي مَغْنَمٍ يَوْمَ بَدْرٍ. قَالَ: وَأَعْطَانِي رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم شَارِفًا أُخْرَى. فَأَنَخْتُهُمَا يَوْمًا عِنْدَ بَابِ رَجُلٍ مِنَ الأَنْصَارِ. وَأَنَا أُرِيدُ أَنْ أَحْمِلَ عَلَيْهِمَا إِذْخِرًا لأَبِيعَهُ، وَمَعِي صَائِغٌ مِنْ بَنِي قَيْنُقَاعَ، فَأَسْتَعِينَ بِهِ عَلَى وَلِيمَةِ فَاطِمَةَ ».

ʿAlī, the son of Abū Ṭālib, narrated and said: During the Battle of Badr, a share of the spoils allotted to me including an old camel. The Messenger of God ﷺ gave me another old camel in addition. In order to contribute to the wedding feast for our marriage with Fāṭimah, I once loaded my camels with *idhkhir* (sweet-smelling herb) together with a goldsmith from the Banū Qaynuqāʿ and set out to sell it. On that day, I

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954 Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 1:104, 106 #819, 838; *al-Zuhd*, 28 #147; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Duʿāʾ*, 93 #230; Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 7:84 #5362; Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 8:84 #7093; Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath, *al-Sunan*, 4:475 #5066.

made my camels kneel at the door of one of the Anṣār. This ḥadīth was also mentioned previously in connection with his marriage. [955]

ʿAlī sought work in order to earn a living:

قَالَ عَلِيٌّ عَلَيْهِ السَّلاَمُ: «جُعْتُ مَرَّةً بِالْمَدِينَةِ جُوعًا شَدِيدًا . فَخَرَجْتُ أَطْلُبُ الْعَمَلَ فِي عَوَالِي الْمَدِينَةِ. فَإِذَا أَنَا بِامْرَأَةٍ قَدْ جَمَعَتْ مَدَرًا فَظَنَنْتُهَا تُرِيدُ بَلَّهُ. فَأَتَيْتُهَا فَقَاطَعْتُهَا كُلُّ ذَنُوبٍ عَلَى تَمْرَةٍ. فَمَدَدْتُ سِتَّةَ عَشَرَ ذَنُوبًا، حَتَّى مَجَلَتْ يَدَايَ. ثُمَّ أَتَيْتُ الْمَاءَ فَأَصَبْتُ مِنْهُ. ثُمَّ أَتَيْتُهَا فَقُلْتُ بِكَفِّي هَكَذَا بَيْنَ يَدَيْهَا، – وَبَسَطَ إِسْمَاعِيلُ يَدَيْهِ وَجَمَعَهَا – فَعَدَّتْ لِيَ سِتَّ عَشْرَةَ تَمْرَةً. فَأَتَيْتُ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَأَخْبَرْتُهُ، فَأَكَلَ مَعِي مِنْهَا ».

ʿAlī said: One day in Madīnah, I became extremely hungry. I went out to the district of al-ʿAwālī (the upper quarters of Madīnah) in search of work. I saw a woman who had gathered lumps of clay from the ground. I assumed she intended to soak them with water. I made an agreement with her to draw water from the well, one bucket in exchange for one date. I drew sixteen buckets of water for her, until my hands became calloused. I drank some of the water I had drawn, then returned to the woman and held out my hands. She counted out sixteen dates into my palms. I came to the Prophet ﷺ and informed him of what had happened, and he ate of those dates with me. [956]

A narration indicating that ʿAlī and Fāṭimah experienced hunger:

عَنْ عَوْنِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ. عَنْ أُمِّهِ أُمِّ جَعْفَرٍ. عَنْ جَدَّتِهَا أَسْمَاءِ بِنْتِ عُمَيْسٍ. عَنْ فَاطِمَةَ: « أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَتَاهَا يَوْمًا فَقَالَ: أَيْنَ ابْنَايَ؟ يَعْنِي حَسَنًا وَحُسَيْنًا. قَالَتْ: أَصْبَحْنَا وَلَيْسَ فِي بَيْتِنَا شَيْءٌ يَذُوقُهُ ذَائِقٌ. فَقَالَ

[955] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 3:78 #2089, 3:149 #2375, 4:95 #3091, 5:105 #4003; Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 6:85 #5242, 5244.

[956] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 1:135 #1135; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:717 #1229; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, 1:70; Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 6:119 #11984; Ibn Abī al-Dunyá ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-J̌ūʿ*, 37 #17; Ḍiyāʾ al-Maqdisī Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, *al-Aḥādīth al-mukhtārah*, 2:335 #714.

عَلِيٌّ: أَذْهَبُ بِهِمَا، فَإِنِّي أَتَخَوَّفُ أَنْ يَبْكِيَا عَلَيْكِ، وَلَيْسَ عِنْدَكِ شَيْءٌ. فَذَهَبَ إِلَى فُلَانٍ الْيَهُودِيِّ. فَتَوَجَّهَ إِلَيْهِ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَوَجَدَهُمَا يَلْعَبَانِ فِي شَرَبَةٍ، بَيْنَ أَيْدِيهِمَا فَضْلٌ مِنْ تَمْرٍ. فَقَالَ: يَا عَلِيُّ، أَلَا تَقْلِبُ ابْنَيَّ قَبْلَ أَنْ يَشْتَدَّ عَلَيْهِمَا الْحُرُّ ؟ فَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ: أَصْبَحْنَا وَلَيْسَ فِي بَيْتِنَا شَيْءٌ. فَلَوْ جَلَسْتَ يَا نَبِيَّ اللهِ حَتَّى أَجْمَعَ لِفَاطِمَةَ تَمَرَاتٍ. فَجَلَسَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ حَتَّى اجْتَمَعَ لِفَاطِمَةَ شَيْءٌ مِنْ تَمْرٍ. فَجَعَلَهُ فِي صُرَّتِهِ. ثُمَّ أَقْبَلَ فَحَمَلَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَحَدَهُمَا، وَعَلَيَّ الْآخَرُ حَتَّى أَقْلَبَهُمَا ».

ʿAwn ibn Muḥammad narrated from his mother, Umm Jāʿfar, who narrated from her grandmother, Asmāʾ bint ʿUmays, who narrated from Fāṭimah. Fāṭimah narrated that one day, the Messenger of God ﷺ came to her and asked, referring to her sons, "Where are my sons?" Fāṭimah replied, "We woke up, and there was nothing in our home to eat." ʿAlī said to me, "You have nothing to feed them. I fear they will cry from hunger. I will take them somewhere," and he went to a certain Jew. The Messenger of God ﷺ went to the place that Fāṭimah had described. He found them playing around a pit dug around a date palm tree, with date pits in their hands. The Messenger of God ﷺ said, "O, ʿAlī, will you not take my sons home before they become too hot?" ʿAlī replied, "We woke up, and there was nothing to eat in our home. O, Messenger of God, would you sit for a moment while I gather some dates for Fāṭimah?" The Messenger of God ﷺ sat down. ʿAlī gathered some dates for Fāṭimah and put them in his bag. The Messenger of God ﷺ carried one of the children, while ʿAlī carried the other, and they returned home. [957]

ʿAlī's Modesty with the Messenger of God ﷺ: ʿAlī said: "I had a lot of *madhī* (pre-seminal fluid) flowing. Since his daughter was my wife, I felt shy to ask the Messenger of God ﷺ directly. I asked Miqdād ibn al-Aswad to ask him on my behalf." Miqdād asked, and the reply was:

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[957] Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 22:422 #1040; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:180 #4774; Abū Bishr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dūlābī, *Al-Dhurrīyah al-ṭāhirah*, 227 #185; Ibn ʿAsākir ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 14:171 #12542.

"Wash your penis and perform ablution." [958] This indicates that there is no need for a full ritual bath (*ghusl*) due to the flow of *madhī*.

ʿAlī's Piety: (Avoiding Doubtful Matters): ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Dharr narrated: "On the day of *Īd al-Aḍḥá* (the Feast of Sacrifice), I entered the presence of ʿAlī. He offered us *ḥazīrah* (a type of food).[959] May God improve your condition, for God has given you abundant goodness. Why didn't you offer us duck or goose meat?" ʿAlī replied: "O, son of al-Dharr, I heard the Messenger of God ﷺ say: 'The caliph is entitled to only two dishes of food from God's wealth: one dish for himself and his family, and the other dish to be shared with those who come to him'." [960]

ʿAlī's Ascetic Way of Life: Abū Rajāʾ Mujammiʿ said: " ʿAlī came to the marketplace with a sword. He asked, 'Who will buy this sword from me?' He added, 'If I had enough money to buy a piece of clothing, I would not sell this sword.' I said: 'O, Commander of the Believers, I will sell you a piece of clothing. I will wait until the time you receive your salary (stipend) to pay for it'." [961]

A Narration about ʿAlī Selling His Sword: ʿAlī ibn al-Akram narrated from his father, al-Akram: "I saw ʿAlī in the marketplace of Kufah, selling his sword. He was saying: 'Who will buy this sword from me?' I swear by God, if I had enough money to buy a piece of clothing, I would not sell this sword. I have used it many times to protect the Messenger of God ﷺ and to remove difficulties from him'."[962]

ʿAlī's Humble Disposition: Abū Maṭar narrated: "I saw ʿAlī dressed in a simple robe with a staff in his hand, looking like a wandering

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[958] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 1:45 #132, 1:55 #178, 1:76 #269; Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 1:169 #721.

[959] *Ḥaḍīrah*: A stew of small-cut meat boiled in water. Once well cooked, flour is added to the broth.

[960] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 1:78 #578; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:724 #1241; Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī, *al-Sharīʿah*, 4:1763 #1219; Ibn Abī al-Dunyá ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Waraʿ*, 89 #128.

[961] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 1:549 #925; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, 1:83.

[962] Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-awsaṭ*, 7:174 #7198; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, 1:83.

Bedouin. He went to the market where cotton cloth merchants were selling their goods. He entered one of the shops and said to the shopkeeper: 'O, Shaykh, please give me a discount on a shirt I wish to buy for three dirhams.' When the shopkeeper recognized him, [he refused to take money from ʿAlī, so] ʿAlī did not buy from him. He went to another shop, and the shopkeeper also recognized him and did not sell to him [offering to give the items for free]. Finally, he went to a young man, bought a shirt for three dirhams, and paid him. When the young man's father arrived at the shop, he told him what had happened. The father then took one dirham and went to ʿAlī, saying: 'O, Commander of the Believers, take this dirham.' ʿAlī asked: 'What is this dirham for?' The father replied: 'The price of the shirt was two dirhams.' ʿAlī responded: 'I bought it willingly, and he sold it willingly,' and he did not take the dirham." [963]

The Tribe of Hamdān in Yemen Accepted Islam Through ʿAlī's Efforts: Barā' ibn ʿĀzib narrated: "The Messenger of God ﷺ sent Khālid ibn al-Walīd to invite the people of Yemen to Islam. I was among those who accompanied him. After nine months, they did not accept Islam. Then, the Messenger of God ﷺ sent ʿAlī after him. He gave orders for Khālid and his companions to return, but said that those who wished to stay with ʿAlī could do so. I was one of those who stayed with ʿAlī. When we approached the people of Yemen, they came out of their homes. ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib led us in the dawn prayer. After completing the prayer, he lined us up in rows and then stepped forward. After praising and thanking God, he read to us the letter that the Messenger of God ﷺ had sent to the people of Yemen. On that day, the entire Hamdān tribe accepted Islam. ʿAlī wrote to the Messenger of God ﷺ informing him of their conversion. When the Messenger of God ﷺ read the letter, he prostrated in gratitude. When he raised his head, he said three times, 'Peace be upon Hamdān.' After that, the people of Yemen continuously embraced Islam." [964]

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[963] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 1:528 #878.

[964] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 5:206 #4349 (al-Bukhārī often only reports a portion of a ḥadīth. This is one such example); Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 2:369 #4102; *Maʿrifat al-sunan wa-al-āthār*, 3:316 #1261; *Dalāʾil al-nubūwah*, 5:369; Muḥammad ibn Hārūn al-Ruyānī, *al-Musnad*, 1:218 #304.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE FITNAHS

After the death of the Messenger of God ﷺ apostasy incidents occurred [people and tribes who said they converted to Islam during the Prophet's lifetime, renounced Islam and returned to their pagan ways as soon as the Prophet died]. Abū Bakr decisively dealt with this and eliminated it. During the two years of Abū Bakr's caliphate and the ten years of ʻUmar's caliphate, no such incidents occurred, and the Islamic religion spread significantly. From the East, including Iran and present-day Afghanistan, to India; from the North to Azerbaijan; and to the West, as far as the Atlantic Ocean, conquests were made. People entered Islam in waves. During ʻUthmān's caliphate, *fitnah*s arose [*fitnah* is the term used to describe internal strife, civil wars]. Since then, they have not ceased.

The *Fitnah*s that Emerged After the Sixth Year of ʻUthmān's Caliphate: The Messenger of God ﷺ after his death, explained in his ḥadīths that *fitnah*s would emerge and provided solutions to them. Scholars regard this as one of his miracles. In *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, and other ḥadīth books, there are authentic narrations about the *fitnah*s that would occur after the Prophet's death. These narrations are regarded as his miracles. Although our main subject is not to explain *fitnah*, to understand the topic properly, it is necessary to know some of the narrations that foretold the coming of *fitnah*s, and those indicating the events of The Camel and Ṣiffīn involving ʻUthmān, ʻAlī, the Mother of the Believers ʻĀ'ishah, and the companions. [965]

The Ḥadīth: "I fear the expansion of the world over you":

أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم بَعَثَ أَبَا عُبَيْدَةَ بْنَ الْجَرَّاحِ إِلَى الْبَحْرَيْنِ يَأْتِي بِجِزْيَتِهَا ، وَكَانَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم هُوَ صَالَحَ أَهْلَ الْبَحْرَيْنِ وَأَمَّرَ عَلَيْهِمِ الْعَلاَءَ بْنَ الْحَضْرَمِيِّ فَقَدِمَ أَبُو عُبَيْدَةَ بِمَالٍ مِنَ الْبَحْرَيْنِ فَسَمِعَتِ الأَنْصَارُ بِقُدُومِ أَبِي عُبَيْدَةَ فَوَافَوْا صَلاَةَ الْفَجْرِ مَعَ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وسلم

[965] For traditions on *fitnah*, see "*fitnah*" ḥadīths in *al-Jāmiʻ*, *al-Sunan*, and *al-Musnad* collections, and also: Nuʻaym ibn Ḥammād, *al-Fitan*; Ḥamūd ibn ʻAbd Allāh al-Tuwayjirī, *Ithāf al-jamāʻah bimā jāʼa fī al-fitan wa-al-malāḥim wa-ashrāṭ al-sāʻah*.

فَلَمَّا انْصَرَفَ تَعَرَّضُوا لَهُ فَتَبَسَّمَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم حِينَ رَآهُمْ ثُمَّ قَالَ أَظُنُّكُمْ سَمِعْتُمْ أَنَّ أَبَا عُبَيْدَةَ قَدِمَ بِشَيْءٍ قَالُوا أَجَلْ يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ قَالَ فَأَبْشِرُوا وَأَمِّلُوا مَا يَسُرُّكُمْ فَوَاللَّهِ مَا الْفَقْرَ أَخْشَى عَلَيْكُمْ وَلَكِنِّي أَخْشَى أَنْ تُبْسَطَ عَلَيْكُمُ الدُّنْيَا كَمَا بُسِطَتْ عَلَى مَنْ قَبْلَكُمْ فَتَنَافَسُوهَا كَمَا تَنَافَسُوهَا وَتُهْلِكَكُمْ كَمَا أَهْلَكَتْهُم.

The Messenger of God ﷺ had sent Abū ʿUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ to Bahrain to collect the jizyah. (Previously) he had made a peace treaty with the people of Bahrain and appointed ʿAlāʾ ibn al-Ḥaḍramī as the governor. Abū ʿUbaydah returned from Bahrain with goods. The Anṣār heard of Abū ʿUbaydah's return. They performed the dawn prayer with the Prophet ﷺ and went to his house. Upon seeing them, the Prophet smiled and said: "I assume you have heard that Abū ʿUbaydah has returned with something." "Yes, O, Messenger of God," they replied. He then said: "Expect something that will make you happy. I swear by God, I do not fear that you will become poor. What I fear is that the world will spread over you, as it did over the previous nations. Just as they raced for the world, so too will you race. This race, which led to their destruction, will also destroy you."[966]

What should one do when *fitnah* arises?

عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم: « سَتَكُونُ فِتَنٌ. الْقَاعِدُ فِيهَا خَيْرٌ مِنَ الْقَائِمِ ، وَالْقَائِمُ فِيهَا خَيْرٌ مِنَ الْمَاشِي، وَالْمَاشِي فِيهَا خَيْرٌ مِنَ السَّاعِي. مَنْ تَشَرَّفَ لَهَا تَسْتَشْرِفْهُ، فَمَنْ وَجَدَ فِيهَا مَلْجَأً، أَوْ مَعَاذًا فَلْيَعُذْ بِهِ. »

Abū Hurayrah narrated, saying: The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "*Fitnah*s will occur. In that *fitnah*, the one sitting will be better than the one standing, the one standing will be better than the one walking, and the one walking will be better than the one running. Whoever seeks to be involved in it will fall into it. Whoever can find something to hold onto

966 Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 5:108 #4015; Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 4:2273 #2961.

or a refuge to escape to, let him take refuge in it."[967] This ḥadīth is agreed upon.

Al-Nawawī, in his commentary on *Muslim*, wrote while explaining this ḥadīth: These *fitnah*s refer to the battles that occurred among the Companions, such as the Battle of The Camel, the Battle of Ṣiffīn, the incident of Harrah, the murder of ʿUthmān, the Massacre of Ḥusayn and his family, and other similar events. This ḥadīth is a clear miracle of the Prophet ﷺ. The comparison of the one sitting being better than the one standing expresses the enormity and danger of this *fitnah*. Those who can find a place to take refuge should take refuge, and those who have the opportunity to escape should flee. Scholars have differed in their interpretation of these ḥadīths. Some hold that one should avoid and stay away from these *fitnah*s, while others believe that it is necessary to align with the just party, oppose the unjust, and fight against the tyrannical group. Most of the Companions, the followers, and Islamic scholars agree with this latter view. Because God (Glorified and Exalted is He)...

﴿فَإِنْ بَغَتْ إِحْدَاهُمَا عَلَى الْأُخْرَى فَقَاتِلُوا الَّتِي تَبْغِي حَتَّى تَفِيءَ إِلَى أَمْرِ اللَّهِ﴾

The verse "If two groups of believers fight, reconcile between them. If one of them transgresses against the other, fight the transgressing party until it returns to the command of God"[968] commands this. The correct view is the one stated here. If the first view were accepted, corruption and disorder would spread, and the oppressors would dominate.[969]

The ḥadīth that informs us that the Day of Judgment will not occur until two great groups fight:

عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ، أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم قَالَ: « لاَ تَقُومُ السَّاعَةُ حَتَّى تَقْتَتِلَ فِئَتَانِ عَظِيمَتَانِ. وَتَكُونُ بَيْنَهُمَا مَقْتَلَةٌ عَظِيمَةٌ وَدَعْوَاهُمَا وَاحِدَةٌ. »

[967] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 4:241 #3610, 9:64 #7081, 7082; Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 8:168 #7429.

[968] Q. al-Ḥujurāt, 49:9.

[969] Yaḥyá ibn Sharaf al-Nawawī, *al-Minhāj sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj*, 18:8.

Abū Hurayrah narrated that the Messenger of God ﷺ said: "The Day of Judgment will not come until two great groups who have the same cause fight." 970 This ḥadīth is agreed upon (muttafaq alayh).

The Messenger of God ﷺ had informed ʿAlī that there would be a dispute:

عَنْ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: «إِنَّهُ سَيَكُونُ بَعْدِي اخْتِلافٌ، أَوْ أَمْرٌ، فَإِنِ اسْتَطَعْتَ أَنْ تَكُونَ السِّلْمَ ، فَافْعَلْ. »

Ali said: The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "After me, there will be differences (division) or events. If you have the power to make peace, do so." 971

The ḥadīth of the mill of Islam:

عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ مَسْعُودٍ، عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وسلم قَالَ: « تَدُورُ رَحَى الإِسْلاَمِ لِخَمْسٍ وَثَلاَثِينَ، أَوْ سِتٍّ وَثَلاَثِينَ، أَوْ سَبْعٍ وَثَلاَثِينَ. فَإِنْ يَهْلِكُوا فَسَبِيلُ مَنْ هَلَكَ. وَإِنْ يَقُمْ لَهُمْ دِينُهُمْ يَقُمْ لَهُمْ سَبْعِينَ عَامًا. قَالَ: قُلْتُ أَمِمَّا بَقِيَ أَوْ مِمَّا مَضَى قَالَ: مِمَّا مَضَى. »

ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd narrated: The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "The mill of Islam will turn in the thirty-fifth, thirty-sixth, or thirty-seventh year. If they are destroyed, then they are already destroyed. If their religion remains established, it will last for seventy years." I asked, "Will this period apply to those who passed away or those who remain?" He said, "To those who passed away." 972

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970 Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 9:22 #6935, 9:74 #7121; Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 8:170 #7438.

971 Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 2:105 #695; Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, 1:440 #1412.

972 Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath, *al-Sunan*, 6:308 #4254; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 1:390 #3707, 1:393:3730; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:46 #6664; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 5:323 #1942, 5:366 #1996; Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī, *al-Musnad*, 1:301 #383; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 8:425 #5009; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 8:166 #9058; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:123 #4593; Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Abū Jaʿfar

It can also be understood as: "The mill of Islam will turn until the thirty-fifth, thirty-sixth, or thirty-seventh year." Scholars have differed in their interpretations of the meaning of this ḥadīth and have made various comments. There are two views on the meaning of this ḥadīth: The first view: That the religion will continue to be upright. This is the view of the majority. The second view: That there will be war and fighting. This is the view of Khaṭṭābī and Baghawī. The great scholar Ardabīlī, in his commentary on *al-Azhār* and *al-Masābīḥ*, said: According to the majority of scholars, the meaning of "the mill of Islam turning" is that the Prophethood and Caliphate will continue in an upright manner, with the rules and punishments being applied continuously and without interruption, until the thirty-fifth, thirty-sixth, or thirty-seventh year of the hijrah. The evidence for this is the wording of the ḥadīth itself. Khaṭṭābī in his commentary on *Maʿālim al-sunan* by Abū Dāwūd, and Baghawī in his *Sharḥ al-sunnah*, said that the meaning of "the mill of Islam turning" refers to war and fighting. Just as the mill grinds grain, so too will the war grind people. The author of *Aʿwnu al-maʿbūd* prefers the first view.[973] Ibn Ḥibbān said: This is an indication that the rule will pass from the sons of Ḥāshim to the sons of Umayyah, because the arbitration incident occurred at the end of the thirty-sixth year.[974]

Ḥadīths indicating apostasy and deviations from the faith:

عَنِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ قَالَ: قَامَ فِينَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم خَطِيبًا بِمَوْعِظَةٍ فَقَالَ: « يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ ، إِنَّكُمْ تُحْشَرُونَ إِلَى اللَّهِ حُفَاةً عُرَاةً غُرْلاً. ﴿ كَمَا بَدَأْنَا أَوَّلَ خَلْقٍ نُعِيدُهُ وَعْدًا عَلَيْنَا إِنَّا كُنَّا فَاعِلِينَ ﴾ أَلاَ وَإِنَّ أَوَّلَ الْخَلاَئِقِ يُكْسَى يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ إِبْرَاهِيمُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلاَمُ. أَلاَ وَإِنَّهُ سَيُجَاءُ بِرِجَالٍ مِنْ أُمَّتِي فَيُؤْخَذُ بِهِمْ ذَاتَ الشِّمَالِ. فَأَقُولُ: يَا رَبِّ أَصْحَابِي. فَيُقَالُ: إِنَّكَ لاَ تَدْرِي مَا أَحْدَثُوا بَعْدَكَ. فَأَقُولُ كَمَا قَالَ الْعَبْدُ الصَّالِحُ: ﴿ وَكُنْتُ عَلَيْهِمْ شَهِيدًا مَا دُمْتُ فِيهِمْ

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al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, 4:292 #1611, 1612; Ibn Abī Shaybah Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Musnad*, 1:142 #280.

973 Muḥammad Ashraf al-ʿAẓīmābādī, *ʿAwn al-maʿbūd sharḥ sunan Abī Dāwūd*, 9:1287-1288, #3712.

974 Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:48 #6664.

فَلَمَّا تَوَفَّيْتَنِي كُنْتَ أَنْتَ الرَّقِيبَ عَلَيْهِمْ وَأَنْتَ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ شَهِيدٌ إِنْ تُعَذِّبْهُمْ فَإِنَّهُمْ عِبَادُكَ وَإِنْ تَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ فَإِنَّكَ أَنْتَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ ﴾ قَالَ: فَيُقَالُ لِي: إِنَّهُمْ لَمْ يَزَالُوا مُرْتَدِّينَ عَلَى أَعْقَابِهِمْ مُنْذُ فَارَقْتَهُمْ». وَفِي حَدِيثِ وَكِيعٍ وَمُعَاذٍ: « فَيُقَالُ: إِنَّكَ لاَ تَدْرِي مَا أَحْدَثُوا بَعْدَكَ. »

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās said: "The Messenger of God ﷺ addressed us with an admonition and said: 'O, people, you will be resurrected on the Day of Resurrection barefoot, naked, and uncircumcised. 'Just as We began the first creation, We shall repeat it. This is a promise binding upon Us. Truly We shall do it'." [975] After reciting this verse, he continued: "Be aware that the first to be clothed on the Day of Resurrection will be Ibrāhīm ﷺ. And be aware that some individuals from my community will be brought forth and directed to the left side (of the assembly). I will say: 'My Lord, these are my companions!' But it will be said to me: 'You do not know what they did after you (after your death).' Then I will say what the righteous servant (ʿĪsá) said: 'I was a witness over them while I remained among them, but when You took me up, You became the Watcher over them. You are Witness over all things. If You punish them, they are Your servants, and if You forgive them, truly You are the Mighty, the Wise'." [976] Then it will be said to me: "Indeed, from the time you parted from them, they continued to apostatize."

In the narration of Wakīʿ and Muʿādh, it is stated: "You do not know what innovations they introduced after you." Al-Bukhārī transmitted from Qabīṣah the report that these were those who apostatized during the time of Abū Bakr.[977] This ḥadīth is agreed upon (*muttafaq ʿalayh*). There is a difference of opinion regarding the interpretation of this ḥadīth. Some scholars said: These were the individuals who apostatized and renounced the religion after the death of the Messenger of God ﷺ. Others included among them those who, beginning with the siege and assassination of ʿUthmān, participated in

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[975] Q, al-Anbiyāʾ, 21:104.

[976] Q, al-Māʾidah, 5:117, 118.

[977] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 4:169 #3349, 4:204 #3447, 6:69 #4625, 6:122 #4740, 8:136 #6526; Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 8:157 #7380.

the battles of the Camel, Ṣiffīn, and Nahrawān, and those who tormented ʿAlī and killed him. For further details, one may consult *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, and the commentaries on the books of ḥadīth.

After ʿAlī became caliph, many events occurred. In narrating this period, we shall refrain from criticizing or analyzing [the motivations of] any of the Companions who became involved in this *fitnah* (civil strife). We will only recount the events, leaving the rest to the judgment of the reader. Because the Mother of the Believers ʿĀ'ishah, Ṭalḥah, and Zubayr were involved in these events, we must report some of the transmitted accounts concerning them. Some transmitted reports concerning the Mother of the Believers ʿĀ'ishah:

The ḥadīth indicating the location of the *fitnah* (civil strife):

عَنْ عَبْدِ اللهِ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ قَالَ: قَامَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم خَطِيبًا. فَأَشَارَ نَحْوَ مَسْكَنِ عَائِشَةَ فَقَالَ: « هُنَا الْفِتْنَةُ – ثَلاَثًا – مِنْ حَيْثُ يَطْلُعُ قَرْنُ الشَّيْطَانِ. »

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar said: The Prophet ﷺ stood up to deliver a sermon and pointed in the direction of the house of the Mother of the Believers ʿĀ'ishah, and said three times: "*Fitnah* is here. It is from here that the horn of Satan shall emerge." [978]

The dream seen by the Mother of the Believers ʿĀ'ishah:

عَنِ الشَّعْبِيِّ قَالَ: قالَتْ عَائِشَةُ لأَبِي بَكْرٍ: « إِنِّي رَأَيْت فِي الْمَنَامِ بَقَرًا يُنْحَرْنَ حَوْلِي. قَالَ: إِنْ صَدَقَتْ رُؤْيَاك قُتِلَتْ حَوْلَك فِئَةٌ .!»

Al-Shaʿbī narrated and said: The Mother of the Believers ʿĀ'ishah said to Abū Bakr: "In a dream, I saw many cows being slaughtered around me." Abū Bakr said: "If your dream proves true, many people around you will be killed." [979]

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[978] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 4:100 #3104.

[979] Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 11:72 #31140; Nuʿaym ibn Ḥammād, *al-Fitan*, 1:82 #182; Ibn Abī al-Dunyá Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Ishrāf fī manāzil al-ashrāf*, 273 #361.

The dream that the Mother of the Believers ʿĀ'ishah related to her servant Masrūq:

عَنْ مَسْرُوقٍ قَالَ: قَالَتْ لِي عَائِشَةُ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهَا: « إِنِّي رَأَيْتُنِي عَلَى تَلٍّ وَحَوْلِي بَقَرٌ تُنْحَرُ. فَقُلْتُ لَهَا: لَئِنْ صَدَقَتْ رُؤْيَاكِ لَتَكُونَنَّ حَوْلَكِ مَلْحَمَةٌ. قَالَتْ: أَعُوذُ بِاللَّهِ مِنْ شَرِّكَ، بِئْسَ مَا قُلْتَ. فَقُلْتُ لَهَا: فَلَعَلَّهُ إِنْ كَانَ أَمْرًا سَيَسُوءُكِ. فَقَالَتْ: وَاللَّهِ لأَنْ أَخِرَّ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ أَحَبُّ إِلَيَّ مِنْ أَنْ أَفْعَلَ ذَلِكَ. فَلَمَّا كَانَ بَعْدُ ذُكِرَ عِنْدَهَا أَنَّ عَلِيًّا رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ قَتَلَ ذَا الثُّدَيَّةِ. فَقَالَتْ لِي: إِذَا أَنْتَ قَدِمْتَ الْكُوفَةَ، فَاكْتُبْ لِي نَاسًا مِمَّنْ شَهِدَ ذَلِكَ مِمَّنْ تَعْرِفُ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْبَلَدِ. فَلَمَّا قَدِمْتُ وَجَدْتُ النَّاسَ أَشْيَاعًا. فَكَتَبْتُ لَهَا مِنْ كُلِّ شِيَعٍ عَشَرَةً مِمَّنْ شَهِدَ ذَلِكَ. قَالَ: فَأَتَيْتُهَا بِشَهَادَتِهِمْ. فَقَالَتْ: لَعَنَ اللَّهُ عَمْرَو بْنَ الْعَاصِ، فَإِنَّهُ زَعَمَ لِي أَنَّهُ قَتَلَهُ بِمِصْرَ. » هَذَا حَدِيثٌ صَحِيحٌ عَلَى شَرْطِ الشَّيْخَيْنِ، وَلَمْ يُخَرِّجَاهُ. ووافقه الذهبي في "تلخيصه". »

Masrūq narrated and said: " ʿĀ'ishah said to me: "I saw myself in a dream standing on top of a hill, and many cows were being slaughtered around me." I said to her: "If your dream proves true, there will be a war around you." The Mother of the Believers ʿĀ'ishah said: "What a terrible thing you have said! I seek refuge in God from your evil." I said to her: "If such an event occurs, it will not be good for you." She replied: "By God, if I were to fall from the sky to the earth, it would be more beloved to me than to do such a thing." Later, it was mentioned in her presence that ʿAlī had killed *Dhū al-Sudayyah*. She said to me: "When you go to Kūfah, ask those you know from among the people of Kūfah who witnessed this event, and write it to me." When I went to Kūfah, I saw that the people had divided into many factions. From among those who had seen it, I took the names of ten individuals from each group and wrote them to her. When I returned to her, I conveyed to her that they had testified to the event. Thereupon, she said: "May God curse ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, for he claimed to me that *Dhū al-Sudayyah* had been killed in Egypt."

Al-Ḥākim narrated this ḥadīth and then said: "This ḥadīth meets the criteria of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, yet they did not narrate it in their

compilations." Al-Dhahabī concurred with al-Ḥākim regarding the authenticity of this ḥadīth. [980]

What Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān related: The narration of Abū al-Ṭufayl:

عَنْ أَبِي الطُّفَيْلِ، قَالَ: خَرَجْتُ أَنَا، وَعَمْرُو بْنُ صُلَيْعٍ الْمُحَارِبِيُّ، حَتَّى دَخَلْنَا عَلَى حُذَيْفَةَ. فَإِذَا هُوَ مُحْتَبٍ عَلَى فِرَاشِهِ يُحَدِّثُ النَّاسَ. قَالَ: فَغَلَبَنِي حَيَاءُ الشَّبَابِ، فَقَعَدْتُ فِي أَدْنَاهُمْ. وَتَقَدَّمَ عَمْرٌو مُجْتَنِئًا عَلَى عُودِهِ حَتَّى قَعَدَ إِلَيْهِ، فَقَالَ: حَدِّثْنَا يَا حُذَيْفَةُ. فَقَالَ: « عَمَّ أُحَدِّثُكُمْ ؟ فَقَالَ: لَوْ أَنِّي أُحَدِّثُكُمْ بِكُلِّ مَا أَعْلَمُ قَتَلْتُمُونِي.- أَوْ قَالَ: لَمْ تُصَدِّقُونِي.- قَالُوا: وَحَقٌّ ذَلِكَ؟ قَالَ: نَعَمْ. قَالُوا: فَلَا حَاجَةَ لَنَا فِي حَقٍّ تُحَدِّثُنَاهُ فنقْتُلُكَ عَلَيْهِ. وَلَكِنْ حَدِّثْنَا بِمَا يَنْفَعُنَا وَلَا يَضُرُّكَ. فَقَالَ: أَرَأَيْتُمْ لَوْ حَدَّثْتُكُمْ أَنَّ أُمَّكُمْ تَغْزُوكُمْ، إِذَا صَدَّقْتُمُونِي؟ قَالُوا: وَحَقٌّ ذَلِكَ؟ وَمَعَهَا مُضَرُ، مَضَّرَهَا اللَّهُ فِي النَّارِ، وَأَسَدُ عَمَّانَ، سَلَتَ اللَّهُ أَقْدَامَهُمْ. ثُمَّ قَالَ: إِنَّ قَيْسًا لَا تَزَالُ تَبْغِي فِي دِينِ اللَّهِ شَرًّا، حَتَّى يَرْكَبَهَا اللَّهُ بِمَلَائِكَةٍ. فَلَا يَمْنَعُوا ذَنَبَ تَلْعَةٍ . قَالَ عَمْرٌو: أَذْهَلْتَ الْقَبَائِلَ إِلَّا قَيْسًا. فَقَالَ: أَمِنْ مُحَارِبِ قَيْسٍ؟ أَمْ مِنْ قَيْسِ مُحَارِبٍ. إِذَا رَأَيْتَ قَيْسًا تَوَالَتْ عَنِ الشَّامِ، فَخُذْ حِذْرَكَ ».

Abū al-Ṭufayl narrated and said: I and ʿAmr ibn Sulayʿ al-Muḥāribī went to Ḥudhayfah. He was sitting on his bed, speaking with the people. Abū al-Ṭufayl said: Out of the shyness of youth, I sat in the lowest place among those present. ʿAmr leaned on his staff and came forward to sit beside him, saying: "O, Ḥudhayfah, tell us." Ḥudhayfah replied: "What should I tell you?" Then he continued: "If I were to recount everything I know, you would kill me" or he said "you would not believe me." They said: "Is what you speak the truth?" He said: "Yes." They responded: "We do not need you to tell us truths for which we would kill you. Only tell us what will benefit us and will not harm you." He said: "If I told you that your own mother will fight against you, would you believe me?"

[980] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 4:13 #6744.

They said: "Is that really true?" He said: "Yes, and with her is, may God make her taste the bitterness of the Fire, [the tribe of] Muḍar, the clan of Asad of ʿAmmān. May God sever their legs." Then he said: "Qays still seeks evil in God's religion. May God set angels upon them such that they shall no longer possess any power to resist." ʿAmr said: "You have astonished [us] regarding Qays and the other tribes." He replied: "Is it Qays of Muḥārib or Muḥārib of Qays? If Qays follows [the people of] Syria, then be wary." [981]

The narration of Khaythamah ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān:

عَنْ خَيْثَمَةَ بْنِ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ قَالَ: كُنَّا عِنْدَ حُذَيْفَةَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. فَقَالَ بَعْضُنَا: حَدِّثْنَا يَا أَبَا عَبْدِ اللهِ مَا سَمِعْتَ مِنْ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. قَالَ: لَوْ فَعَلْتُ لَرَجَمْتُمُونِي. قَالَ: قُلْنَا سُبْحَانَ اللهِ، أَنَحْنُ نَفْعَلُ ذَلِكَ؟ قَالَ: أَرَأَيْتَكُمْ لَوْ حَدَّثْتُكُمْ: أَنَّ بَعْضَ أُمَّهَاتِكُمْ تَأْتِيكُمْ فِي كَتِيبَةٍ كَثِيرٍ عَدَدُهَا، شَدِيدٍ بَأْسُهَا، صَدَقْتُمْ بِهِ؟ قَالُوا: سُبْحَانَ اللهِ، وَمَنْ يُصَدِّقُ بِهَذَا؟ ثُمَّ قَالَ حُذَيْفَةُ: أَتَتْكُمُ الْحُمَيْرَاءُ فِي كَتِيبَةٍ يَسُوقُهَا أَعْلاَجُهَا، حَيْثُ تَسُوءُ وُجُوهَكُمْ. ثُمَّ قَامَ فَدَخَلَ مَخْدَعًا. هَذَا حَدِيثٌ صَحِيحٌ عَلَى شَرْطِ الشَّيْخَيْنِ، وَلَمْ يُخْرِجَاهُ.

Khaythamah ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān narrated and said: We were in the presence of Ḥudhayfah. Some of us said: "O, father of ʿAbd Allāh, tell us what you heard from the Messenger of God ﷺ." He replied: "If I were to tell you, you would stone me." We said: "Exalted is God! Would we do such a thing?" He said: "If I were to tell you that some of your mothers (i.e., the wives of the Prophet) would march against you with a large army and severe force, would you believe me?" They said: "Exalted is God! Who would believe such a thing?" Then Ḥudhayfah continued: "The Ḥumayrāʾ (i.e., ʿĀʾishah) is advancing upon you with a great military faction. Powerful men are leading her. It will be bad for your leaders." Then he stood and entered his house. Al-Ḥākim said: This ḥadīth is authentic according to the conditions of al-Bukhārī and

[981] Maʿmar ibn Rāshid, *al-Jāmiʿ*, 11:52 #1988; Nuʿaym ibn Ḥammād, *al-Fitan*, 1:85 #192.

Muslim, but they did not transmit it in their collections. Al-Dhahabī agreed with al-Ḥākim regarding its authenticity. [982]

The state of the Muslims and of Madīnah when ʿAlī became caliph: ʿAlī did not become caliph under normal circumstances. He was chosen as caliph at a time when *fitnah* (civil strife) was at its most intense. To understand this, we must have at least some knowledge of the *fitnah* and the events that arose in the final year of ʿUthmān's caliphate. ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān: Our focus here is not to narrate the life of ʿUthmān. However, because this *fitnah*, which culminated in his assassination, is directly related to the accession of ʿAlī, who was a significant member of the *Ahl al-Bayt*, we must be acquainted with it. Before recounting the *fitnah*, we will give some brief information about ʿUthmān.

Ḥadīths concerning the merit of ʿUthmān: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Samurah narrated and said: When the Prophet ﷺ was preparing the army for the campaign of Tabūk, ʿUthmān brought a thousand dīnārs (gold coins) and placed them in the lap of the Prophet ﷺ. The Prophet ﷺ turned them over with his hand and repeatedly said: "Whatever the son of ʿAffān does after today will not harm him." [983]

Narrations about the trials and tribulations that ʿUthmān would face: The Ḥadīth of Jubayr ibn Nufayr: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Jubayr narrated from his father, Jubayr ibn Nufayr, who said: The Messenger of God ﷺ said to ʿUthmān: "One day, if God dresses you in a garment, and the hypocrites ask you to shed it, do not remove it for those wrongdoers." [984]

The Ḥadīth of the Mother of the Believers, ʿĀ'ishah, regarding ʿUthmān: The slave of ʿUthmān, Abū Sahlah, narrated: When the Messenger of God ﷺ was ill, he said: "I wish that some of my companions would be with me." I (ʿĀ'ishah) said: "O, Messenger of

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[982] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 2:105 #695; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 4:517 #8453; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-awsaṭ*, 2:35 #1154; Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, 1:440 #1412.

[983] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 34:231 #20630, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 1:515 #846; Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 6:67 #3701; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:110 #4553. Al-Dhahabī said of this narration: "*Ṣaḥīḥ*."

[984] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 3:49; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 1:453 #728; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Khallāl, *al-Sunnah*, 2:329 #423.

God, should I call for Abū Bakr to come to you?" He remained silent. I understood that he did not want him. I said: "Should I call for ʿUmar?" He remained silent again. I understood that he did not want him either. I said: "Should I call for ʿAlī?" He remained silent. I understood that he did not want him either. I said: "Should I call for the son of ʿAffān (ʿUthmān)?" He said: "Yes." When ʿUthmān arrived, the Messenger of God ﷺ signaled for me to move away. ʿUthmān came and sat by the Prophet ﷺ, who said something to him. ʿUthmān's complexion changed. Abū Sahlah said: When ʿUthmān was besieged at home, he was asked: "Will you not resist them?" ʿUthmān replied: "The Messenger of God ﷺ told me what will happen to me. I will be patient."[985]

ʿUthmān had a dream about his death: Kathīr ibn al-Ṣalt said: When ʿUthmān was under siege, I went to see him. ʿUthmān said: "O, Kathīr, I see that I will be killed today." I replied: "May God grant you victory over your enemies." He repeated what he had said. I asked him: "Did someone tell you this?" He replied: "No. I couldn't sleep last night. In the early hours of the morning, I saw the Messenger of God ﷺ along with Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. The Prophet of God said: 'O, ʿUthmān, do not delay us, we are waiting for you'." On that day, ʿUthmān was killed.[986]

The *fitnah* surrounding the assassination of ʿUthmān: This *fitnah*, characterized by division, confusion, and concerns, resulted in the death of ʿUthmān in the 35th year of the hijrah. It began during the final six years of ʿUthmān's caliphate, continuing with separation and conflict. This significant fitnah had a major impact on the course of Islamic history. As the Muslims fought against each other, they were distanced from the conquests, marking the beginning of sectarian divisions. The emergence of the Khārijī movement in Islamic history occurred for the first time because of this *fitnah*. Those calling for reform demanded that ʿUthmān stop his actions, and when he refused, a group emerged in opposition to him. Many Companions were killed as a result of this

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[985] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 3:49; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 42:521 #25798; Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Mājah, *al-Sunan*, 1:42 #113; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:356 #6918.

[986] Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 2:69 #413; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:106 #4542; ʿUmar ibn Shabbah, *Tārīkh Madīnah*, 4:1226.

fitnah, including ʿUthmān and ʿAlī. In the aftermath of this *fitnah*, the era of the Rightly guided caliphs, elected through consultation (*shūrá*), came to an end, and the Umayyad dynasty, with a system of hereditary caliphate, was established.

During ʿUthmān's rule, the most important centers of the Islamic world were: Egypt, Syria, Kūfah, and Baṣrah. These centers served as gateways to the world, and soldiers for jihād were sent from these regions. Syria was the gateway to the lands of the Romans, Egypt was the gateway to North Africa, and Baṣrah and Kūfah were the gateways to Persia, Turkestan, and the Indian subcontinent.

ʿUthmān's House: The house of ʿUthmān refers to the house where he was besieged and killed. This house was located to the east of the Prophet's Mosque at that time. Today, it remains within the area known as the "gate of ʿUthmān" inside the mosque. While there is some dispute, the siege lasted more than a month. Between ʿUthmān's house and the mosque, there was a paved area called *balaṭ* where the besieging forces would gather.

The emergence of the *fitnah* and the movements against ʿUthmān: The movements against ʿUthmān began in the 33rd year of the hijrah. These movements had various causes, primarily the complaints from the people of the central regions such as Egypt, Kūfah, and Baṣrah. The complaints were due to the actions of the governors, and as the grievances were not addressed and the offending governors were not removed, the issue reached Madīnah, and ʿUthmān was besieged. The leaders of the people in these regions and tribal leaders initially wrote letters to ʿUthmān. When their demands were not met, they began corresponding with one another to rise against him. They decided to travel to Madīnah to engage in a discussion with him about the issues they were criticizing.

Al-Zuhrī said: ʿUthmān ruled for twelve years. For the first six years, no one objected to his governance. In fact, the Quraysh favored him even more than they did ʿUmar, because ʿUmar had been harsh with them, whereas ʿUthmān treated them more leniently, supporting them. During his final six years, he granted significant positions and wealth to his relatives. For example, he gave Marwān a fifth of Egypt. He justified these actions by claiming that *ṣilat al-raḥm* (maintaining family ties) was a divine command. Both Abū Bakr and ʿUmar had refrained from [showing favoritism to their family members or] taking any personal

funds from the state treasury and left it there, but ʿUthmān said, "I take my share and share it with my relatives." The people rejected this. [987] As complaints increased, ʿUthmān called his governors to consult on the situation. However, the governors did not reach a unanimous conclusion, and conflict arose. Over time, the unrest against ʿUthmān grew. Among the few Companions and Followers who remained loyal to him in Madīnah were Zayd ibn Thābit, Ḥassān ibn Thābit, Abū Usayd al-Sāʿidī, and Kaʿb ibn Mālik.[988]

Those who disliked ʿUthmān gave him derogatory nicknames: Those who opposed ʿUthmān not only criticized him but also gave him insulting nicknames. They compared him to a Mīṣrī (Egyptian) man with a long beard named *Naʿthal* and called him by that name. *Naʿthal* means "old, foolish, or a nobody." [989]

The Companions who opposed ʿUthmān:

Umm al-Muʾminīn (Mother of the Believers) ʿĀʾishah
Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allāh
Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī
ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir
ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ
Jubayr ibn ʿAmr al-Saʿīdī, al-Anṣārī

Opponents among the Companions: Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allāh: Ṭalḥah was one of the wealthy men of Madīnah. He was a member of the council (*shūrá*) appointed by ʿUmar to choose the caliph. When ʿUmar passed away, Ṭalḥah was outside Madīnah. He was urgently sent for the selection of the caliph. By the time he arrived, ʿUthmān had already been chosen. Ṭalḥah did not accept this decision and initially refused to give allegiance to ʿUthmān. He stayed home and did not immediately pledge his allegiance. Abū Bakr's son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn

[987] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 3:47.
[988] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:337; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣubḥī, *Fitnat maqtal ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān*, 2:849.
[989] Ibn ʿAsākir ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 39:327; Ibn al-Athīr al-Mubārak ibn Muḥammad al-Jazarī, *al-Nihāyah fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa-al-athar*, 5:80.

ʿAwf and ʿUthmān managed to persuade him, and he eventually gave his pledge of allegiance. [990]

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAyyāsh said: "I went to ʿUthmān and spoke with him for about an hour. He then said, 'O, son of ʿAyyāsh, come here.' He took my hand and let me hear the conversations of those who were waiting outside his house. We listened to them. Some were asking, 'What are you waiting for?' Others said, 'Wait, perhaps he will return.' While I and ʿUthmān were standing, Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allāh passed by. He stopped and asked, 'Where is the son of ʿUdays?' They pointed him out. The son of ʿUdays approached Ṭalḥah, and they whispered something to each other. The son of Udays then returned to his companions and said, 'Do not allow anyone to enter ʿUthmān's house, nor let anyone leave.' ʿUthmān said to me, 'This is the order of Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allāh.' ʿUthmān continued: 'O, God, protect me from Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allāh. He incited these people against me. I pray that his hand remains empty, and that his blood is spilled, for he has done what is forbidden against me."

Hakīm ibn Jābir said: ʿAlī told Ṭalḥah: "By God, drive these people away from ʿUthmān." Ṭalḥah responded: "By God, I will not do so until the sons of Umayyah give what is rightfully due."[991] After ʿUthmān's death, Sudān ibn Ḥumrān came out from ʿUthmān's house and proclaimed: "Where is Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allāh? We have killed ʿUthmān." [992]

Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī: Abū Dharr criticized ʿUthmān for the wealth he gave to Marwān and other relatives, citing verses from the Qurʾān. ʿUthmān sent him to Syria to Muʿāwiyah, but Muʿāwiyah, disturbed by his criticisms, sent him back to Madīnah. ʿUthmān, too, was troubled by his criticisms and forced him to settle in Rabadhah. Abū Dharr died in Rabadhah. [993]

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ: The slave of Miswar, Abū ʿAwn, narrated: ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ was the governor of Egypt under ʿUthmān. ʿUthmān removed him from his tax-collecting duties and gave him only the responsibility of

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[990] Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 7:518 #37677.

[991] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:378, 4:405.

[992] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:379.

[993] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 35:217 #21291; Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 4:226; ʿUmar ibn Shabbah, *Tārīkh Madīnah*, 4:1034.

leading prayers. First, he appointed ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd to collect taxes, then gave both duties to ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd. When ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ came to Madīnah, he began to oppose ʿUthmān. One day, ʿUthmān sent for him. When they were alone, he said to him: "O, son of the Prophet's wife, you left the post a year ago. How quickly did the lice infest your robe? Are you speaking against me? When you come to me, you come with one face, but when you leave, you go with another. I swear by God, you are doing this because of what you lost (the governorship of Egypt)." ʿAmr replied: "Most of what people say about their governors and what they narrate is false. O Commander of the Believers, fear God concerning the people." ʿUthmān said: "I swear by God, despite all the talk about you, and despite your limping, I appointed you as a governor." ʿAmr responded: "I was the governor under ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. He was pleased with me." ʿUthmān replied: "If I had treated you as ʿUmar did, you would have remained upright. But since I treated you kindly, you are acting insolently toward me." [994]

Those Who Opposed ʿUthmān in Madīnah and Were the First to Speak Out: Before the siege, some events had already occurred within Madīnah, involving those residing there. First Event: Jabalah ibn ʿAmr al-Sāʿidī: [995] ʿĀmir ibn Saʿd said: The first person to dare speak ill of ʿUthmān was Jabalah ibn ʿAmr al-Sāʿidī. Jabalah was sitting among his people. He held an iron tool to which prisoners were tied. When ʿUthmān passed by them, he greeted them. They responded to his greeting with "wa ʿalaykum al-salām" (and peace be upon you). Jabalah said to those around him: "Why did you respond to the greeting of the one who does such things?" Then he turned to ʿUthmān and said: "I swear by God, either I will place this tool around your neck, or you will

[994] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:356.

[995] Jabalah ibn ʿAmr al-Anṣārī al-Sāʿidī was from the people of Madinah and among the notable *ṣaḥābah*. He was present at the conquest of Egypt with Muʿāwiyah ibn Ḥudayj and also participated in the North African campaign. He was on the side of ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn. Ibn al-Sakan stated he attended the battle of Uḥud. He later settled in Egypt. When ʿUthmān was to be buried, Jabalah prevented the burial at the usual place, and he was instead buried in the courtyard of Kawkab. Ibn al-Athīr, ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Usd al-ghābah fī maʿrifat al-ṣaḥābah*, 1:511 #686; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt*, 11:40; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥābah*, 1:566 #1082; Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā al-kabīr*, 3:11 #1055.

abandon these people around you." ʿUthmān replied: "What people? I choose the best of people." Jabalah said: "You chose Marwān, you chose Muʿāwiyah, you chose ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir ibn Kurayz, you chose ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd. Some of these people were condemned in the Qurʾān, and the Messenger of God ﷺ has declared their blood to be wasted." ʿUthmān left. From that day onwards, people continued to act boldly against him. [996] Second Event: While ʿUthmān was delivering a sermon, Aʿyān ibn Dubayʿah al-Tamīmī, the father of Nawwār, wife of the famous poet Farazdaq, out to ʿUthmān: "O, Naʿthal, you have changed." ʿUthmān asked: "Who is this?" They replied: "It is Aʿyān." ʿUthmān said: "*You* are the Naʿthal, O, servant!" [997] Third Event: ʿAlqamah ibn Wakkās narrated: He said: While ʿUthmān was on the pulpit, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ called out to him and said: "O, ʿUthmān, you have brought calamities upon this ummah. Repent, and those with you should also repent." ʿUthmān turned his face toward the *qiblah*, raised his hands, and said: "O, God, I repent. I seek forgiveness from You for my sins." The people also raised their hands together. [998]

Those Who Were Close to ʿUthmān: Abū al-Aʿwar ʿAmr ibn Sufyān al-Sulamī: He became well-known by his *kunyah*. His real name is ʿAmr ibn Sufyān. His mother is from Quraysh. Muslim and Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥākim stated that he was a Companion (*ṣaḥābī*). Al-Baghawī, ʿAbd al-Bāqī ibn Kāniʾ, and Ibn Mandah also mentioned him as a Companion. He fought in Ṣiffīn alongside Muʿāwiyah. It is said that he was the person who delivered the letter from ʿUthmān, which was sent from Madīnah to the governor of Egypt. [999]

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[996] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:365.

[997] Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisī, *al-Aḥādīth al-mukhtārah*, 1:481 #357; Ibn ʿAsākir ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 39:254. Aʿyān ibn Ḍubayʿah ibn Nājiyah al-Tamīmī was a *ṣaḥābī*. He was the father of Nawwār, the wife of al-Farazdaq. He fought at the battle of the Camel alongside ʿAlī. He was the one who severed the legs of the camel carrying the Mother of the Believers, ʿĀʾishah. Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Barr al-Namarī, *al-Istīʿāb*, 1:119; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 1:55; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt*, 9:172.

[998] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 3:51; Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:360.

[999] Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥābah*, 4:529 #5867.

Muʿāwiyah ibn Ḥudayj al-Sakūnī: He is a Companion (*ṣaḥābī*). He narrated ḥadīth from the Prophet ﷺ. He met ʿUmar and narrated ḥadīth from him. He was an ʿUthmānī and is considered to be from Egypt. He fought in the Battle of Ṣiffīn alongside Muʿāwiyah. He was the governor of Egypt under Muʿāwiyah. He participated in the conquests of Africa and lost his eye during these campaigns. By the order of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, he killed Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr. He took the oath of allegiance from the people of Egypt for Muʿāwiyah, and then for his son Yazīd. He died in Egypt in the year 52 AH (672 CE). [1000]

ʿUthmān Was Accused of The Following:

a) His Actions:

Establishing the palace.

Burning the Qurʾān manuscripts.

Leading the four *rakʿahs* of prayer in Miná.

Giving wealth to his relatives.

Beating ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir.

b) The Governors He Appointed:

Removing Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ from the governorship of Kūfah and appointing Walīd, the son of ʿUqbah ibn Abī Muʿayṭ, in his place.

Removing Walīd from the governorship of Kūfah and appointing Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ as the new governor.

Removing Abū Mūsá al-Ashʿarī from the governorship of Baṣrah and appointing ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir in his place.

Removing ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ from the governorship of Egypt and appointing ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Sarḥ as the new governor.

Al-Dhahabī also recorded the following criticisms directed at ʿUthmān:

Removing the righteous and ascetic ʿUmayr ibn Saʿd from the governorship of Ḥumṣ.

[1000] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 7:348 #4028; Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Barr al-Namarī, *al-Istīʿāb fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb*, 3:1413 #2432; Ibn al-Athīr ʿAlī ibn Abī al-Karam Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Usd al-ghābah*, 5:198 #4980; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣābah fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥābah*, 6:116 #8080; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, 7:260.

Centralizing all of Syria under the administration of Muʿāwiyah.

Removing ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ from the governorship of Egypt and appointing ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Sarḥ as governor.

Removing Abū Mūsá al-Ashʿarī from the governorship of Baṣrah and appointing ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir.

Removing Mughirah ibn Shuʿbah from the governorship of Kūfah and appointing Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ in his place.

ʿUthmān's appointment of these governors caused the people to turn against ʿUthmān. [1001]

ʿUthmān's Responses to the Accusations: The Establishment of Palaces Is Forbidden in Islam: Palaces are the exclusive property of God and His messenger. That is, no one besides God and His messenger is permitted to establish palaces. [1002] Those Who Besieged ʿUthmān: They accused him of establishing palaces. [1003] ʿUthmān's Response to These Accusations: Abū Usayd al-Anṣārī's slave, Abū Saʿīd, narrated that when ʿUthmān heard that a delegation from Egypt was arriving, he went to meet them. At that time, ʿUthmān was outside Madīnah in a village that belonged to him. The people in Madīnah did not want to meet him, so they went to his location and listened to him. They said to him: "Bring us the *muṣḥaf*." [bring a copy of the written Qurʾān.] ʿUthmān had the *muṣḥaf* brought. They then said: "Open the seventh [or] ninth sūrah and

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[1001] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 3:47; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 15:220, 222; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 2:234.

[1002] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 3:148 #2370, 4:74 #3012; Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath, *al-Sunan*, 3:180 #3083, 3084; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 27:236 #16689.

[1003] *Kōru*: In linguistic terms, it refers to designating a piece of land, including its waters, springs, and pastures, as protected. In pre-Islamic Arabia, sacred places and temples were often designated as *ḥimā* (protected lands), as were lands appropriated by powerful tribal leaders for their clans. With the advent of Islam, the Prophet ﷺ forbade arbitrary *ḥimā* designations. Exceptions were made for pasturing animals used in *jihād*, animals gathered through zakāt, and the public good. A well-known ḥadīth states: "The right of *ḥimā* belongs only to God and His Messenger." The Prophet ﷺ declared Naqīʿ as a protected area, and ʿUmar designated Sharaf and Rabadhah as *ḥimā*. Sources: Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 3:148 #2370; Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath, *al-Sunan*, 3:180 #3083, 3084; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 27:236 #16689.

read it." [1004] They referred to the seventh or ninth sūrah without counting *Fatihah*, and *Yūnus*. ʿUthmān read it.

﴿ قُلْ أَرَأَيْتُمْ مَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ لَكُمْ مِنْ رِزْقٍ فَجَعَلْتُمْ مِنْهُ حَراماً وَحَلالًا قُلْ آللَّهُ أَذِنَ لَكُمْ أَمْ عَلَى اللَّهِ تَفْتَرُونَ ﴾

"Say: What do you think about the fact that you make some of the provision God has sent down to you lawful and some of it unlawful? Say: Has God given you permission, or do you invent lies about God?"[1005]

When this verse was recited, they said: "Stop here!" They asked ʿUthmān: "When you established the palace, did God give you permission, or did you make up lies about God?" ʿUthmān replied: "This verse was revealed for this reason and with this meaning. As for the palace, before me, ʿUmar had established a protected area for the camels given as zakāt for grazing. When I took over the administration, the number of camels coming from zakāt increased, so I expanded the protected area." [1006]

The Burning of the Qur'ān: One of the accusations made by those who besieged ʿUthmān was that he had burned parts of the Qur'ān that had been written. The summary of the issue is as follows: ʿUthmān had compiled the Qur'ān for the second time and had ordered the burning of previously written materials. During the caliphate of Abū Bakr, the Qur'ān had been compiled into a book. When ʿUthmān became caliph, Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yaman observed that in the conquests of Azerbaijan and Iraq, the Qur'ān was being taught in various recitations. He feared that this would lead to future disputes, and he presented his concern to Caliph ʿUthmān. ʿUthmān acknowledged the validity of this concern and requested the original *muṣḥaf* (the first compiled Qur'ān) from the Mother of the Believers, Ḥafṣah. A committee was formed to copy this *muṣḥaf*, and it was rewritten into five or six copies based on the original. The work that was rewritten was based on the Quraysh dialect, and other dialects were omitted to avoid potential disagreement. Not only was the *muṣḥaf* of Ḥafṣah used as a reference, but the verses and chapters

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[1004] Some narrations mention it as the seventh sūrah, others as the ninth. If *al-Fātiḥah* is not counted, then the correct numbering is the ninth sūrah.

[1005] Q, Yūnus, 10:59.

[1006] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:354; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 2:369 #3300.

written on various materials (such as leather, stone, camel and cattle bones, and palm fronds) that were with the companions were also gathered. After the copying was completed, the original *muṣḥaf* taken from Ḥafṣah was returned to her. Smaller fragments of writing were first washed and then burned. [1007]

After Ḥafṣah's death, the original *muṣḥaf* that had been with her was given to ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar. When Marwān became the governor of Madīnah, he requested the *muṣḥaf* from Ḥafṣah, but she refused to give it to him. Marwān then asked ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar for the *muṣḥaf*, and ʿAbd Allāh gave it to him. There were minor differences in writing and orthography between the *muṣḥaf* compiled during the caliphate of Abū Bakr and the ones written under ʿUthmān. This was because the first *muṣḥaf* had been written according to seven different dialects, while the *muṣḥafs* ordered by ʿUthmān were written only in the Quraysh dialect to prevent potential conflicts. Due to the fear that these differences might cause disputes in the future, Marwān ordered that this *muṣḥaf* be burned and destroyed. [1008]

The Report in *Saḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*: The narration of Anas ibn Mālik: Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān, during the conquests of Armenia and Azerbaijan, was preparing the Syrians and Iraqis for battle. At this time, he became concerned about the differences he observed in the recitation of the Qurʾān. Ḥudhayfah said to ʿUthmān: "O, Commander of the Believers, before there is a division in the book (the Qurʾān) like the division among the Jews and Christians, act quickly to unite this ummah." ʿUthmān then said to Ḥafṣah: "Send us the *muṣḥaf*, so we can have copies made from it and we will return it to you." Ḥafṣah sent the *muṣḥaf* to ʿUthmān. ʿUthmān commanded Zayd ibn Thābit, ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Hārith ibn Hishām. They made copies of the Qurʾān (transcribed it) onto new *muṣḥafs*. ʿUthmān instructed the three Qurayshīs, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr, Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Hārith ibn Hishām, to write it in the Quraysh dialect if they differed on any point in the Qurʾān, because the Qurʾān had been revealed in the Quraysh dialect. They did as instructed. For example, there was a disagreement between Zayd ibn

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[1007] Mannāʿ al-Qaṭṭān, *Mabāḥith fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān*, 121; Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *Mabāḥith fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān*, 78.

[1008] Abū Bakr ibn Abī Dāwūd ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath, *al-Maṣāḥif*, pp. 57, 91, 102, with numerous chains of transmission.

Thābit and the Qurayshīs on how to write the word '*tābūt*' (the ark). They disagreed on whether to write the letter "T" (ت) as an open "T" or a closed one (ة). They asked ʿUthmān, and he instructed them to write it according to the Quraysh orthography, so it was written as such. They wrote it onto five or six copies of the *muṣḥaf*. ʿUthmān then returned the original *muṣḥaf* to Ḥafṣah. He sent a newly written *muṣḥaf* to each region. Furthermore, he ordered the burning of any other written fragments or *muṣḥaf*s that existed. [1009]

During the siege, while ʿUthmān was being accused for this act, ʿAlī defended him. Abū Mijlaz Lāḥiq ibn Ḥumayd said: "They saw ʿUthmān's burning of the *muṣḥaf*s as a fault. ʿAlī defended ʿUthmān and said, ' ʿUthmān did this in front of all of us, and he did it openly'," [1010] Those who opposed ʿUthmān criticized him for gathering the *muṣḥafs*, but ʿAlī said to them: "O, people, do not go too far in your criticism of ʿUthmān. Only speak good words. Speak good about the *muṣḥaf*s as well. Whatever ʿUthmān did regarding the *nuṣḥaf*s, he did it openly in front of all of us. If I were in power, I would have done what ʿUthmān did." [1011]

ʿUthmān Praying Four *Rakʿah*s at Miná: Those who rebelled against ʿUthmān saw his act of praying the full four *rakʿah*s at Miná without shortening them as a fault and questioned him about it. The Prophet ﷺ performed the prayers at Miná during Hajj in two *rakʿah*s instead of four. After him, the two caliphs, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, followed the same practice. In the first six years of his caliphate, ʿUthmān also followed their example, but later, due to certain reasons, he decided to pray four *rakʿah*s. Many companions of the Prophet opposed ʿUthmān's change in this matter.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Yazid narrated: " ʿUthmān led us in prayer at Miná, and he prayed four *rakʿah*s." [1012] The narration of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar in *Ṣaḥiḥ al-Bukharī* and *Ṣaḥiḥ Muslim* is as follows: ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar said: "The Messenger of God ﷺ prayed two *rakʿah*s at Miná. Then Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, and in the first six years of his caliphate,

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[1009] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 6:226 #4987; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, 9:16.

[1010] Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 7:518 #37678.

[1011] Abū Bakr ibn Abī Dāwūd ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath, *al-Maṣāḥif*, pp. 28, 29, 30, 67, 98.

[1012] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 2:53 #1082, 1084; Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 1:482 #694, 695.

ʿUthmān followed the same practice. Later, ʿUthmān prayed four *rakʿah*s. When ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar prayed behind the imām, he prayed four *rakʿah*s. But when he prayed alone, he prayed two *rakʿah*s." [1013]

The Reasons for ʿUthmān's Actions: Scholars have explained why ʿUthmān acted in this way as follows: The first reason: Some of the Arabs who had performed the Ḥajj with him would, upon returning to their homelands, perform the prayer as two *rakʿah*s, because they had observed it done in this manner at Miná. Ibn Jurayj narrated that an Aʿrābī called out to ʿUthmān at Miná, saying: "O, Commander of the Believers, last year I saw you perform the prayer as two rakʿahs; from that time until now, I have always prayed it as two." [1014] Al-Zuhrī also narrated: ʿUthmān performed four rakʿahs at Miná because that year many Bedouins were present. He did so in order to teach them that the prayer is four rakʿahs. [1015] After leading the prayer in full (four rakʿahs) at Miná, ʿUthmān delivered a sermon in which he explained the reason for praying four. [1016] The second reason: ʿUthmān had married in Makkah. The narration in the *Musnad* of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal is as follows: ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān performed four rakʿahs at Miná. The people did not accept this. ʿUthmān said: "O, people, since coming for the Ḥajj I have married in Makkah. I heard the Messenger of God ﷺ say: 'Whoever marries in a town should perform the full prayer'." [1017] Thus, Makkah became the homeland of ʿUthmān and he was no longer a traveler. The third reason: He had acquired property in Ṭāʾif. Because he owned property, he was considered a resident. The narration from Abū Dāwūd is as follows: Al-Zuhrī said: "When ʿUthmān acquired property in Ṭāʾif and intended to reside there, he performed his prayers as four *rakʿah*s. After ʿUthmān, the imāms followed the same practice."[1018]

ʿUthmān Giving Wealth to His Relatives: The matter of wealth distribution was also one of the reasons for the rebellion against ʿUthmān. Before becoming caliph, ʿUthmān had engaged in trade and

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[1013] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 2:53 #1082; Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 1:482 #694.

[1014] Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, 2:571.

[1015] Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath, *al-Sunan*, 3:329 #1964.

[1016] Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 3:206 #5437, #5438.

[1017] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 1:496 #443; Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, 10:416 #4222.

[1018] Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath, *al-Sunan*, 3:329 #1963.

had accumulated great wealth. A clear example of this is when he brought a thousand dīnars to the Prophet ﷺ during the Tabūk expedition, to contribute to the war effort, and the Prophet prayed for him. ʿUthmān gave a lot of wealth to his relatives. Those who besieged him saw this as a fault and criticized him, saying that he was giving funds from the public treasury to his relatives. ʿUthmān responded by saying that he was giving his own wealth to his relatives and did not give anything from the treasury to anyone who did not deserve it.

The reasons for the killing of ʿUthmān: ʿUthmān's appointment of his close relatives as governors: The narration in *al-Mustadrak* of al-Ḥākim is as follows: regarding the killing of ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān: What a scholar must first know concerning this matter is the cause that led to the occurrence of this event. That cause is the case of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd ibn Abī Sarḥ. He was the son of ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān's maternal aunt (and at the same time his milk-brother [in Islam, children fed by the same wet-nurse are considered siblings]). There is also the matter of al-Walīd, the son of ʿUqbah ibn Abī Muʿayṭ. Al-Walīd was ʿUthmān's brother through his mother. As for ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd ibn Abī Sarḥ, authentic reports have reached us about him. He had been a scribe of the Messenger of God ﷺ. It was discovered that he had committed treachery while writing (the revelation). The Messenger of God ﷺ dismissed him from his position as scribe. He then apostatized from Islam and went to Makkah. At the conquest of Makkah, the Messenger of God ﷺ had declared his blood lawful to be shed, and had ordered that he be killed. But ʿUthmān brought him before the Prophet, and the Messenger of God ﷺ rescinded the order for his execution and pardoned him.[1019] [This was after the Prophet turned away three times, but each time ʿUthmān kept getting back in the Prophet's face, and later the Prophet said he was stalling and waiting for someone present to kill the man. Note: this is an example of the fact that the Prophet never refused anyone who asked for forgiveness, even the worst enemies of Islam].

Ṭāriq ibn Shihāb al-Aḥmasī said: ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān appointed al-Walīd, the son of ʿUqbah ibn Abī Muʿayṭ, as governor over Kūfah and its surrounding regions. Al-Walīd was ʿUthmān's brother through his mother. At that time, Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ was the governor of Kūfah. Al-Walīd came to and met with Saʿd. Saʿd seated him beside himself. He

[1019] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:107.

had not yet been informed that al-Walīd had been appointed in his place as governor. He said to him: "O, Abū Wahb, why have you come here?" Al-Walīd replied: "I have come here as governor." Saʿd asked: "As governor over what?" Al-Walīd said: "As governor over the position you have been fulfilling." Saʿd responded: "By God, I do not know, was it that after me you became more intelligent, or that I became more foolish?" Al-Walīd replied: "Neither did I become more intelligent after you, nor did you become more foolish. But because of the prevailing authority of the community, they chose me over you." Saʿd said: "You have spoken truthfully." [1020]

The beating of ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir: A man from the Banū Fihr named Jahm said: "I was a witness to the matter of (ʿAmmār's beating)." Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ and ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir sent word to ʿUthmān, saying: "Come to us. We wish to inform you of certain matters you have done or innovations you have introduced." ʿUthmān sent a message back to them: "Go away today, I am occupied. I will meet with you on such-and-such a day to respond to what you say." Saʿd departed, but ʿAmmār did not and insisted on meeting. Thereupon, ʿUthmān's envoy beat ʿAmmār. Ibn Abī Shaybah relates the incident of ʿAmmār's beating in the context of those who besieged ʿUthmān holding him to account. The continuation is as follows: When ʿUthmān met with those who were besieging him, he said to them: "What do you accuse me of?" They said: "Of beating ʿAmmār." ʿUthmān replied: "Saʿd and ʿAmmār came to see me. I sent a message to them (asking to meet later). Saʿd went away, but ʿAmmār insisted on staying. The envoy between us beat ʿAmmār without my command. By God, I did not order him to be beaten, nor was I pleased with it. Here is my hand. Let ʿAmmār come and exact legal retribution (let him strike me)." [1021]

ʿUthmān's administrators who caused the people's displeasure:

Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam: Foremost among them was ʿUthmān's cousin, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam. He was ʿUthmān's closest associate, functioning in a sense as his vizier and aide. Numerous complaints were made to ʿUthmān because of the actions of Marwān, and Marwān

[1020] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:108 #4547.

[1021] Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 7:521 #37691.

played a major role in the outbreak of the civil strife (*fitnah*). Al-Wāqidī's narration concerning Marwān: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Aswad ibn ʿAbd Yaghūth said the following about Marwān: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Aswad said, "May God disfigure Marwān. ʿUthmān came out and addressed the people. He spoke words that would satisfy them. He wept on the pulpit. I looked at ʿUthmān's beard. It was soaked with tears. The people also wept along with him. He kept repeating: 'O, God, I repent to You. O, God, I repent to You. O, God, I repent to You. By God, if the people decided to make me their servant, I would be content. If I enter my house, then let them enter it too. By God, I will not seclude myself from you or make it forbidden for anyone to visit me. I will grant you what pleases you, and even more than that. I will remove Marwān and those associated with him'."

ʿUthmān then entered his house and commanded that the door remain open. Marwān entered upon him and manipulated him from every direction, twisting him this way and that, until he caused him to retract his position and prevented him from acting upon what he had intended. Out of shame before the people, ʿUthmān did not emerge from his house for three days. Then Marwān came out and addressed the people, saying: "May your faces be disgraced. Know that I am addressing those I mean. Go back to your homes. If the Commander of the Believers needs one of you, he will summon him. Otherwise, let him remain in his house."

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān said: I went to ʿAlī and found him between the grave and the pulpit (in the *rawḍah al-muṭahharah*). With him were ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir and Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr. They said: "Marwān has done with the people as he wished." ʿAlī turned to me and said: "Were you present at ʿUthmān's sermon?" ʿAbd al-Raḥmān said: "Yes." ʿAlī said: "Did you hear what Marwān said to the people?" ʿAbd al-Raḥmān said: "Yes." ʿAlī said: "Woe to the Muslims. May God protect them! When I remain in my house, (ʿUthmān says:) 'You abandoned me and failed to honor my kinship and rights.' But when I speak, Marwān toys with him and directs him as he wishes. And all this happens after being a Companion of the Messenger of God ﷺ and in old age."[1022]

ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd ibn Abī Sarḥ: ʿAbd Allāh was both the foster brother of ʿUthmān and his maternal cousin. ʿUthmān promised him:

[1022] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:363.

"If you conquer Ifrīqiyah (North Africa), you will receive the *khums al-khums* (one-fifth of the one-fifth of the spoils)," and ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Sarḥ succeeded in conquering the vast territories of Ifrīqiyah. This campaign yielded substantial spoils. When he achieved success in this expedition, ʿUthmān appointed him over financial affairs, entrusting him with responsibility for the *kharāj* (land tax) of Egypt. The then-governor, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, retained only military authority.

In the twenty-seventh year after the hijrah (647–648), ʿUthmān dismissed ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and appointed ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd ibn Abī Sarḥ as governor of Egypt. However, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Sarḥ was not a man of integrity, and the Muslims were not pleased with him. He had previously spoken against the Messenger of God ﷺ and mocked him. Although he had embraced Islam, he later apostatized. The Messenger of God ﷺ had declared his blood legal to shed, meaning that he had ordered him to be killed wherever he might be found.

At the conquest of Makkah, ʿAbd Allāh regretted what he had done, and ʿUthmān interceded with the Prophet ﷺ on his behalf, and he was pardoned. Because of this past, the people disapproved of him and harbored resentment toward him.

When ʿAbd Allāh became governor, he treated the people harshly and burdened them with more than they could bear. The people of Egypt complained about him to ʿUthmān. In response, ʿUthmān wrote to him, instructing him to treat the people gently. Nevertheless, he continued in his conduct and even beat those who had complained against him. For this reason, the people of Egypt were deeply angered with him. When the people of Madīnah heard of these events, the leading figures among them also became displeased with him. [1023]

Walīd Ibn ʿUqbah: Walīd was ʿUthmān's half-brother through their mother. Walīd had become Muslim and emigrated to Madīnah. He was sent to collect the zakāt of the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq tribe. Before reaching the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq tribe, he went to the Messenger of God ﷺ and falsely claimed, "This tribe said they will not give the zakāt." In refutation of this, the following noble verse was revealed:

[1023] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:252; Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 2:107; Ibn al-Athīr ʿAlī ibn Abī al-Karam Muḥammad al-Jazarī, *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, 2:562.

﴿ يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا إِنْ جَاءَكُمْ فَاسِقٌ بِنَبَإٍ فَتَبَيَّنُوا أَنْ تُصِيبُوا قَوْمًا بِجَهَالَةٍ فَتُصْبِحُوا عَلَى مَا فَعَلْتُمْ نَادِمِينَ ﴾

"O, you who believe! If a transgressor comes to you with news, verify it, lest you harm a people out of ignorance and become regretful for what you have done"[1024] The *fāsiq* (transgressor) mentioned in the verse was Walīd.

Walīd's appointment as governor of Kūfah upset the people. They did not consider him a competent administrator. In his religious conduct, he was not upright. One day, he led the morning prayer while intoxicated. The people of Kūfah complained about him to ʿUthmān. They testified that he drank wine and, as proof, sent his ring to ʿUthmān. Thereupon, ʿUthmān dismissed Walīd and had him brought to Madīnah. The *ḥadd* punishment was carried out by ʿAlī. This event is reported in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim. [1025]

The leaders of those who opposed ʿUthmān:

ʿAlqamah ibn Qays: He is from the Nakhʿ branch of the Mudhḥij tribe. He is the paternal uncle of Aswad ibn Yazīd and a *ṭābiʿī* (Follower). He is a jurist of Iraq and was reliable in the transmission of ḥadīth. He narrated many ḥadīths from the Companions. He was with ʿAlī at the Battle of Ṣiffīn. He participated in the campaigns in Khurāsān and resided for some time in Khwārazm and Marw. He passed away in Kūfah in the year 62 AH. [1026]

ʿAlqamah ibn Yazīd ibn ʿAmr ibn Salamah: He is from the Murād tribe. He came to the Prophet ﷺ and then returned to Yemen. He later returned to Madīnah from Yemen. He participated in the conquest of Egypt. During the caliphate of Muʿāwīyah, ʿUtbah ibn Abī Sufyān appointed him as the governor of Alexandria. [1027]

[1024] Q, al-Ḥujurāt, 49:6.

[1025] Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 3:1331 #1707.

[1026] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 6:147 #1982; Khayr al-Dīn Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, 4:248.

[1027] Ibn al-Athīr, ʿAlī ibn Abī al-Karam Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Usd al-ghābah*, 4:85 #3784; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh, *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥābah*, 4:2181 #3784; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣābah fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥābah*, 4:462 #5697.

ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir: He is from the Qaḥṭānī tribe, specifically from the Mudhḥij tribe. His *kunyah* is Abū al-Yaqẓān, and he is a companion (*ṣaḥābī*). He is known for his bravery and was one of the early Muslims, among those who openly declared their Islam. He migrated to Madīnah and participated in the battles of Badr, Uḥud, the Trench, and the Pledge of Riḍwān. The Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ gave him the titles *al-Ṭayyib* and *al-Muṭayyab*. In Ḥadīth, it is said that when ʿAmmār faced two situations, he would choose the one that was most guiding (correct). After the Prophet's ﷺ passing, he built the first mosque in Islam. ʿUmar appointed him as the governor of Kūfah, but after some time, he removed him from this position. He was with ʿAlī during the battles of the Camel and Ṣiffīn. He was martyred during the battle of Ṣiffīn in the 38th year of the hijrah. He was 93 years old when he was killed. He narrated 62 Ḥadīths. [1028]

ʿAmr ibn al-Aṣamm: He is from Kūfah and the Hamdān tribe. He is a *muhāḍram* and from the generation of the Followers. He was one of the leaders who came from Kūfah to lay siege to ʿUthmān. [1029]

ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Āssam: He is from Kūfah and a Ḥadīth narrator. He is considered *thiqah* (trustworthy/reliable). He was one of the leaders who came from Kūfah to lay siege to ʿUthmān. He was the one who facilitated communication between those coming from Egypt, Baṣrah, and Kūfah. [1030]

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿUdays al-Balawī: He was a companion of the Prophet and heard Ḥadīth from him. Until his death during the siege of ʿUthmān, he was the leader of those who killed ʿUthmān, coming from Egypt to Madīnah. He was among those who pledged allegiance under

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[1028] Khayr al-Dīn Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, 5:36; Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 3:186 #54; ʿAbd al-Bāqī ibn Qāniʿ, *Muʃam al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:249 #763; Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Barr al-Namarī, *al-Istīʿāb fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb*, 3:1135 #1863; Ibn al-Athīr, ʿAlī ibn Abī al-Karam Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Usd al-ghābah*, 4:122 #3804.

[1029] Akram ibn Muḥammad al-Fālūjī, *al-Muʃam al-ṣaghīr li-ruwāt al-imām Ibn Ɉarīr al-Ṭabarī*, 1:419.

[1030] Ibn ʿAsākir ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 19:245, 39:318; Mughulṭay ibn Qilīj, *Ikmāl tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmāʾ al-rijāl*, 8:15 #3015; ʿAlī ibn Abī al-Karam Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Usd al-ghābah*, 5:82 #4720; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 2:239; *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 2:475.

the tree at Ḥudaybīyah. He died in the 36th year of the hijrah during the time of Muʿāwiyah. [1031]

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Aswad ibn Yazīd: He is from the Nakhʿ branch of the Mudhḥij tribe. He studied directly under ʿĀ'ishah until he reached maturity and narrated Ḥadīth. He was a jurist, and both he and his father, Aswad ibn Yazīd, were imāms. He is from the Followers generation. He fasted until his tongue became dry and always recited the Qur'ān. He passed away in the 99th year of the hijrah. [1032]

Jabalah ibn ʿAmr al-Anṣārī, al-Sāʿidī: He is from Madīnah and later settled in Egypt. He is among the virtuous companions of the Prophet. He was with ʿAlī at the Battle of Ṣiffīn. Jabalah ibn ʿAmr prevented ʿUthmān from being buried in the Baqīʿ cemetery. Instead, ʿUthmān was buried in a courtyard near the cemetery, which was later included within the cemetery. [1033]

Al-Ashtar Mālīk ibn al-Ḥārith al-Nakhʿī: He is from the Nakhʿ branch of the Mudhḥij tribe. He became famous as al-Ashtar. He was a commander, a prominent figure among the courageous people of his tribe, and witnessed the sermon of ʿUmar in Jabīyah. He settled in Kūfah and participated in the Battle of Yarmūk, where he lost his eye. He was among those who opposed ʿUthmān and participated in the siege of Madīnah. Al-Ashtar was a companion of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and fought alongside him in the Battles of the Camel and Ṣiffīn. ʿAlī prayed for him, saying: "May God have mercy on Mālik. I was for the Messenger of God what he [Mālik] was for me." ʿAlī appointed him as

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[1031] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 7:352 #4036; Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Baghawī, *Muʿjam al-ṣaḥābah*, 4:484; Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Barr al-Namarī, *al-Istīʿāb fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb*, 2:840 #1437; Ibn al-Athīr ʿAlī ibn Abī al-Karam Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Usd al-ghābah*, 3:469 #3358; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣābah fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥābah*, 4:281 #5179.

[1032] Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalā'*, 5:11 #8; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt*, 18:73.

[1033] Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt*, 11:40 #3; Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Barr al-Namarī, *al-Istīʿāb fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb*, 1:235 #317; Ibn al-Athīr ʿAlī ibn Abī al-Karam Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Usd al-ghābah*, 1:511; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥābah*, 1:566 #1082.

the governor of Egypt. On his way to Egypt, he was poisoned with toxic honey at a place called ʿArīsh, and he passed away as a result. [1034]

Al-Ghāfiqī ibn Ḥarb al-ʿAkkī: He was the leader of the four groups from Egypt who came for the siege of ʿUthmān. In the early days of the siege, ʿUthmān led the prayers, and everyone followed him. Later, they prevented ʿUthmān from leading the prayers. Al-Ghāfiqī ibn Ḥarb, who had orders to lead the prayer, then led the prayers. People from Egypt, Kūfah, and Baṣrah all followed him in prayer. During the siege, the people of Madīnah locked themselves in their homes and withdrew to their gardens and vineyards. They did not go outside. [1035]

Aswad ibn Yazīd ibn Qays: He is from the Nakhʿ branch of the Mudhḥij tribe. His *kunyah* is Abū ʿAmr. He is the nephew of ʿAlqamah ibn Qays. He was older than ʿAlqamah. He was trustworthy (*thiqah*) and narrated Ḥadīth. Although he lived during the time of the Prophet ﷺ, he did not meet him. He died in the 75th year of the hijrah in Kūfah.[1036]

Ḥakīm ibn Jabalah al-ʿAbdī: He is sometimes referred to as Ḥukaym. He was a devout person, known for his worship. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr said that he reached the time of the Prophet but it is unknown if he saw him or narrated directly from him. He was a righteous person and lived in Baṣrah. He was one of the supporters of those who laid siege to ʿUthmān. When Zubayr, Ṭalḥah, and the Mother of the Believers came to Baṣrah, the governor of Baṣrah, appointed by ʿAlī, was ʿUthmān ibn Ḥunayf. ʿUthmān sent 700 men from the tribes of ʿAbd al-Qays and Bakr ibn Wā'il, commanded by Ḥakīm ibn Jabalah, against those who came. A fierce battle took place near Zābuqah, close to Baṣrah. Ḥakīm was killed in this battle in the 36th year of the hijrah. [1037]

Ḥurqūṣ ibn Zuhayr al-Saʿdī: He is from the Banū Tamīm tribe and a companion of the Prophet. His nickname is Dhū al-Khuwayṣirah. He was the person who said to the Prophet during the division of the war

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[1034] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 6:239 #2191; Khayr al-Dīn Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, 5:259. There is a biographical entry in many works.

[1035] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:348, 354.

[1036] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 6:134 #1976; Ibn al-Athīr ʿAlī ibn Abī al-Karam Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Usd al-ghābah*, 1:234 #158.

[1037] Ibn al-Athīr ʿAlī ibn Abī al-Karam Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Usd al-ghābah*, 2:57 #1233; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalā'*, 3:531 #136; *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 2:278; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt*, 13:79, 80; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣābah fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:181 #2109; Khayr al-Dīn Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, 2:268.

spoils after the Battle of Ḥunayn, "O, Messenger of God, do justice." He was with ʿAlī in the Battle of Ṣiffīn. After the arbitration incident, he became one of the most extreme opponents of ʿAlī among the Khārijites. He was killed in the 37th year of the hijrah in Nahrawān. [1038] We have sufficed with the narrations of Bukhārī and Muslim regarding this event. The Ḥadīth is as follows: Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī said: We were with the Messenger of God when he was dividing the spoils of war from the battle of Hawāzin. A man from Banū Tamīm, called Dhū al-Khuwayṣirah, came and said: "O, Messenger of God, be just in your distribution." The Messenger of God ﷺ replied: "Woe to you! If I am not just, then who will be just? If I am not just, you have been deceived and have lost." ʿUmar said: "O, Messenger of God, permit me to strike his neck." The Messenger of God ﷺ replied: "Leave him. He has followers among you who, when you compare your prayers to their prayers and your fasting to their fasting, will belittle your worship. They will recite the Qurʾān, but it will not pass beyond their throats. Just as an arrow pierces and exits, these people will exit from the religion. Their sign will be a dark person among them with a piece of flesh on his arm resembling a woman's breast. They will appear when people are divided." Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī said: I testify that I heard this directly from the Messenger of God ﷺ. I also testify that when ʿAlī fought against them, I was with him. ʿAlī ordered him to be searched for. They found him and brought him. I looked at him, and he was just as the Prophet ﷺ had described. [1039]

Kinānah ibn Bishr al-Balawī al-Tujībī: He was one of the leaders of the Egyptians who laid siege to ʿUthmān. He participated in the conquest of Egypt. He was among those who killed ʿUthmān. He was killed in the 36th year of the hijrah in Palestine. [1040]

Kumayl ibn Ziyād al-Nakhaʿī al-Kūfī: He is from the Mudhḥij tribe. He was a respected and trustworthy (*thiqah*) person known for his piety and worship. He narrated few Ḥadīths. He was a Shīʿī. He was with ʿAlī

[1038] Ibn al-Athīr ʿAlī ibn Abī al-Karam Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Usd al-ghābah*, 2:214 #1541; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣābah fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:44 #1666; Khayr al-Dīn Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, 2:173.

[1039] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 4:243 #3610, 8:47 #6163; Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 2:740 #1063.

[1040] Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt*, 24:279; Khayr al-Dīn Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, 5:234.

at the Battle of Ṣiffīn. He was killed by the governor of Kūfah, al-Ḥajjāj, in the 90th year of the hijrah. [1041]

Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah: Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah ibn ʿUtbah ibn Rabīʿah ibn ʿAbd Shams al-Qurashī was the son of the maternal uncle of Muʿāwiyah. His father was among the early Muslims who emigrated to Abyssinia. Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah was born in Abyssinia. His father, Abū Ḥudhayfah, was martyred in the Battle of Yamāmah. Muḥammad grew up alongside ʿUthmān. Later, he had a falling out with ʿUthmān and became an opponent. When the governor of Egypt, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd ibn Abī Sarḥ, came to Madīnah from Egypt, Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah, who was in Egypt, expelled ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Sarḥ's deputy, ʿUqbah ibn Mālik, from Egypt, deposed ʿUthmān from the caliphate, and took control of Egypt. His rule did not last long. He was given the nickname "the misfortune of Quraysh." He was killed in the 38th year of the hijrah in Palestine. [1042]

Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq's son Muḥammad: His mother was Asmāʾ bint ʿUmays, and she gave birth to him during the Farewell Pilgrimage. Both al-Nasāʾī and Ibn Mājah narrate his ḥadīth in their collections of Sunan. He was killed in the 37th year of the hijrah. When ʿAlī married the boy's mother Asmāʾ, he was raised under ʿAlī's care. He was with ʿAlī during the Battle of the Camel and served as the commander of the infantry. He was also with ʿAlī at the Battle of Ṣiffīn. After ʿAlī dismissed Qays ibn Saʿd from the governorship of Egypt, he appointed Muḥammad ibn Abū Bakr as the new governor. Qays ibn Saʿd had been accused of supporting Muʿāwiyah. Later, it became clear that Qays was a wise and righteous person who gave good counsel. When Muḥammad ibn Abū Bakr met with Qays, Qays spoke to him privately and said, "You come from someone who has no opinion of his own. His removal of me does not prevent me from advising you and him. I am a person who sees things clearly. Let me teach you the trap I set for Muʿāwiyah, ʿAmr, and the people of Ḥarb. You should set the same trap for them." He

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[1041] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 6:217 #2106; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt*, 24:278.

[1042] Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Barr al-Namarī, *al-Iṣābah fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb*, 3:1369 #2326; Ibn al-Athīr, ʿAlī ibn Abī al-Karam Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Usd al-ghābah*, 5:82 #4720; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 2:340; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣābah fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥābah*, 6:9, 10.

continued to advise Muḥammad ibn Abū Bakr on how to act, warning him that if he deviated from this path, he would be destroyed. Muḥammad ibn Abū Bakr agreed to everything Qays said but acted in the exact opposite way. Muʿāwiyah sent 6,000 soldiers under the command of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ. When the army approached Egypt, supporters of ʿUthmān joined them. ʿAmr wrote a letter to Muḥammad ibn Abū Bakr, which said: "From now on, keep your blood safe and step aside. I do not want any harm to come to you from me. People have gathered in this land against you. I advise you to leave this place." Muʿāwiyah also wrote a letter to him that said: "O, Muḥammad ibn Abū Bakr, the burden of oppression and injustice is great. The punishment for shedding forbidden blood must be taken both in this world and the next. You treated ʿUthmān harshly, and we know no one who behaved more violently toward him than you. You have allied yourself with those who shed his blood, and now you too are guilty of shedding it. Do you think I am asleep or have forgotten what you did to him? Now you come to govern towns. The majority of the people support us and follow our views. They act according to what I say. They seek help against you. I have sent those who are angry with you, who view fighting you as a way to get closer to God, and who find peace in spilling your blood. They have sworn an oath to fight you." In his letter, Muʿāwiyah detailed how Muḥammad ibn Abū Bakr had struck ʿUthmān with a sharp weapon. He continued: "Wherever you are, no retaliation will save you. Peace." When Muʿāwiyah ibn Hudayj captured him, he killed him, placed his body in the skin of a dead donkey, and burned it. When this news reached ʿĀ'ishah, she was deeply saddened. After every prayer, she would recite the *qunūt* prayer and curse Muʿāwiyah ibn Hudayj and ʿAmr. This narration comes from Abū Mikhnaf. According to al-Wāqidī's narration, Muḥammad ibn Abū Bakr fought until he was killed. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr said: "Muʿāwiyah ibn Hudayj sent his head to Muʿāwiyah. This was the first head to be paraded in Islam." [1043]

Al-Dhahabī in his history of Islam wrote the following about him: "The successor of the Messenger of God ﷺ, his minister, his companion in the Cave of Thawr, the trustworthy of the community, Abū Kuhāfah's son, the Qurayshī, the Taymī, the Madīnan, Muḥammad, the son of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, son of ʿAbd Allāh. His death occurred in the 38th year of the hijrah. His mother was Asmā' bint ʿUmays, who

[1043] Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt*, 2:187 #3.

gave birth to him during the Farewell Pilgrimage. He was one of the leaders of those who besieged ʿUthmān. He then followed ʿAlī and became one of his prominent commanders. In the 37th year of the hijrah, ʿAlī sent him as the governor of Egypt. He was tasked with leading prayers and collecting the taxes. He went to Egypt with an army from Iraq. To fight against him, Muʿāwiyah sent Muʿāwiyah ibn Ḥudayj from Syria to Egypt. The two military groups fought, and Muḥammad ibn Abū Bakr's army was defeated. Ibn Hudayj's broke his strength. Muḥammad ibn Abū Bakr hid in a woman's house in Egypt. The woman betrayed him. Muḥammad ibn Abū Bakr said, 'For the sake of Abū Bakr, do not harm me.' Muʿāwiyah ibn Ḥudayj replied, 'You killed eighty of my people along with the blood of ʿUthmān. Now, should I pardon you for these crimes?' He killed him and wrapped his corpse in the skin of a donkey, then burned it."[1044] In historical accounts, it is narrated that after being killed by Muʿāwiyah ibn Ḥudayj, his body was placed in the skin of a donkey and burned. We have limited ourselves to citing the significant sources.[1045]

Ṣaʿṣāʿah ibn Sūḥān al-ʿAbdī: He is the brother of Zayd ibn Ṣūḥān. He was one of the planners of the founding layout of Kūfah. He was eloquent and a skilled orator. He was talkative and pious. He embraced Islam during the time of the Messenger of God ﷺ, but he did not meet or encounter him personally. He was one of the prominent members of the ʿAbd al-Qays tribe. He raised objections to certain actions of ʿUthmān. ʿUthmān sent him to Syria, to Muʿāwiyah. He was one of his close companions and narrated ḥadīths from him. Ṣaʿṣāʿah, along with his brothers Zayd and Ṣayḥān, fought on the side of ʿAlī in the Battle of

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[1044] Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 2:340.

[1045] On those who reported he was burned in donkey skin: Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 3:61; Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:382, 5:105; Ibn ʿAsākir, ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 49:427-429; Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd al-Barr al-Namarī, *al-Iṣābah fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb*; Ibn al-Athīr, Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Abī al-Karam al-Jazarī, *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, 2709; Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAlī, *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, 1179; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 2:340; *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 3:482, 4:467; Ibn Kathīr, Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar, *al-Bidāyah wa-al-nihāyah*, 10:660, 11:3590; Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Barr al-Namarī, *al-Iṣābah fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb*, 3:1366 #2320; Ibn al-Athīr, ʿAlī ibn Abī al-Karam Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Usd al-ghābah*, 5:97 #4751; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣābah fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥābah*, 6:193 #8313; Khayr al-Dīn Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, 6:220.

the Camel. In the battle, Ṣayḥān carried the banner. After Sayhān was killed, the banner was taken up by his brother Zayd. Ṣaʿṣāʿah fought as a commander at the Battle of Ṣiffīn. He passed away in Kūfah during the caliphate of Muʿāwiyah. He was considered trustworthy, but he narrated only a few ḥadīths. [1046]

Zayd ibn Ṣūḥān al-ʿAbdī: Zayd was the brother of Ṣaʿṣāʿah. There is a dispute regarding whether he was a companion of the Prophet ﷺ. When the people of Kūfah came to ʿUmar, Zayd ibn Sūḥān was with them. ʿUmar highly valued him. He led prayers for the military unit commanded by Salmān al-Fārisī, and Salmān would have him preach the sermon. He was virtuous, pious, and righteous. He fasted every day and prayed every night. He would revive the Friday night with worship. He and his brothers were leaders of their tribe. Zayd ibn Sūḥān went to ʿUthmān and said to him: "O, Commander of the Believers, you have leaned toward a side (favored a particular group), and the ummah has followed suit. Correct yourself, and the ummah will follow your lead." He repeated this three times. ʿUthmān asked him, "Are you one of those who listens and obeys?" Zayd replied, "Yes." ʿUthmān then told him to go to Syria, and he immediately set out, obeying ʿUthmān's command. He saw obedience as a duty and a right. Zayd fought alongside ʿAlī in the Battle of The Camel, where he carried the banner of his tribe, ʿAbd al-Qays. In this battle, Zayd ibn Sūḥān took a cautious approach. Some of the companions of the Prophet ﷺ prophesied that he would be rewarded with paradise. However, he responded, "You speak of paradise, but do you not know that the end could be hell? We fought these people, and we killed their commanders. Would it have been better if we had been patient in the face of oppression?" He lost his hand in the Battle of Jalūlah. Zayd was killed during the Battle of The Camel in the 36th year of the hijrah. When he died, he instructed, "Do not remove my clothes, do not wash my blood. Only remove my shoes. Bury me as I am. On the Day of Judgment, I will face my enemies." Zayd and his brother Sayhān were both killed in the Battle of The Camel and

[1046] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 6:244; Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Barr al-Namarī, *al-Istīʿāb fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb*, 2:717 #1211; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 4:240.

were buried together in the same grave. He was considered trustworthy, but he narrated only a few ḥadīths. [1047]

Sūdān ibn Ḥumrān al-Sakūnī: He was one of the leaders of the groups that came from Egypt to lay siege to ʿUthmān. It is reported that he was one of the individuals responsible for ʿUthmān's death. After ʿUthmān was killed, Sūdān ibn Ḥumrān came out of ʿUthmān's house and said: "Where is Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allāh? We have killed ʿUthmān." [1048]

ʿUmayr ibn Ḍābiʾ al-Burjumī: He was one of the prominent figures of Kūfah and was one of those who participated in the killing of ʿUthmān. Afterward, he was killed by the governor of Kūfah, Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf. The story of his death is as follows: The Umayyad caliph, ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān, had given Muhallab the order to fight against the Khārijīs. When Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf became the governor of Kūfah, he gave a sermon. In his sermon, he ordered that everyone must join the army within three days, and anyone who does not would have their necks struck. ʿUmayr ibn Dābi al-Burjumī, who was from the tribe of al-Temīmī, stood up and said: "May God reform the command of the Emir. I have been called to join the army, but I am old and sick. This is my son; he is young, strong, and capable. He can go in my place." Ḥajjāj replied: "Who are you?" ʿUmayr responded: "I am ʿUmayr ibn Ḍābiʾ al-Tamīmī." Ḥajjāj asked: "Did you hear what I said yesterday?" ʿUmayr said: "Yes." Ḥajjāj then asked: "Were you not one of those who fought against ʿUthmān?" ʿUmayr replied: "Yes." Ḥajjāj asked: "Why did you do this?" ʿUmayr responded: "I did it because my father was imprisoned by him, and that is why I fought him." At that point, ʿAnbasah ibn Sāʿid, who was present, said: "This man is the one who,

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[1047] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 6:176 #2012; Ibn al-Athīr, ʿAlī ibn Abī al-Karam Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Usd al-ghābah*, 2:363 #1848; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣābah fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:504 #2917, 2:532 #3004; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt*, 15:20; Khayr al-Dīn Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, 3:59.

[1048] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 3:47; Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:372, 4:379, 4:486, 4:391, 4:393, 4:394; Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Barr al-Namarī, *al-Istīʿāb*, 3:1045; Ibn Kathīr, Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar, *al-Bidāyah wa-al-nihāyah*, 10:271; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt*, 20:30.

after ʿUthmān was killed, climbed over his body and broke his ribs."[1049] Ḥajjāj ordered that his neck be struck, and he was executed. Ibn Ḥajar wrote that in the year 75 of the hijrah, Ḥajjāj killed him. [1050]

[1049] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 6:307, 6:308; Ibn Khaldūn, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad, *Tārīkh Ibn Khaldūn*, 3:53; Abū al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf ibn Kīzūghlī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān fī tawārīkh al-aʿyān*, 9:185; Ibn ʿAsākir, ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 12:131, 132; Ibn Khallikān, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, 2:34; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 2:767, 2:870-894.

[1050] Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣābah fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥābah*, 5:125 #6548.

Damascus: One of the important centers was Damascus. The governor of Damascus was Muʿāwiyah, son of Abū Sufyān. Since no political events against ʿUthmān occurred there, there is nothing to report concerning Damascus.

The first centers in which civil strife emerged: **Egypt:** After the conquest of Egypt, the majority of those who emigrated there belonged to Yemeni tribes. These likewise participated in the *fitnah* (civil strife), just as the people of Kūfah and Baṣrah had. Those who opposed ʿUthmān corresponded with the people of Kūfah and Baṣrah and acted in unison with them. Among those who killed ʿUthmān were people who had come from Egypt, and the one who killed ʿAlī was likewise from Egypt.

Kūfah: In Kūfah, al-Ashtar, Zayd ibn Ṣūḥān, Ṣaʿṣaʿah, Kaʿb ibn Dhī al-Ḥabakah, Abū Zaynab, Abū Muwarriʿ, Kumayl ibn Ziyād, and ʿUmayr ibn Ḍābiʾ gathered and said, "So long as ʿUthmān remains caliph, we cannot raise our heads against the people." Among them, ʿUmayr ibn Ḍābiʾ and Kumayl ibn Ziyād said, "Let us kill him." As they had agreed, they set off for Madīnah. Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah, ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir, and Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr likewise turned against ʿUthmān. The people of Kūfah were not pleased with their governor al-Walīd. Even during the time of the Messenger of God ﷺ negative things were said about al-Walīd. A qurʾānic verse had been revealed criticizing him. He had lied to the Messenger of God ﷺ and due to this deed the following verse of the Qurʾān was revealed:

﴿ يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا إِنْ جَاءَكُمْ فَاسِقٌ بِنَبَإٍ فَتَبَيَّنُوا أَنْ تُصِيبُوا قَوْمًا بِجَهَالَةٍ فَتُصْبِحُوا عَلَى مَا فَعَلْتُمْ نَادِمِينَ ﴾

"O, you who believe! If a transgressor comes to you with any news, verify it, lest you harm a people in ignorance and afterwards become regretful for what you have done"[1051]

The *fāsiq* (transgressor) mentioned in this verse was al-Walīd. Al-Walīd was ʿUthmān's half-brother through their mother. His appointment as governor grieved the people of Kūfah. They did not

[1051] Q. al-Ḥujurāt, 49:6.

consider him a competent administrator. In his religious life, he was not upright. On one occasion, he led the dawn prayer while intoxicated. The people of Kūfah complained about him to ʿUthmān. They testified that he had drunk wine and, as proof, sent ʿUthmān his ring which they had removed from his finger. As a result, ʿUthmān dismissed al-Walīd and had him brought to Madīnah. The *ḥadd* (legal punishment) was carried out by ʿAlī. In the thirtieth year after the hijrah (651 CE), Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ was appointed governor in place of al-Walīd. The people of Kūfah were pleased with Saʿīd's appointment.

In the thirty-third year after the hijrah (654 CE), one night while the governor Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ was conversing with the notables of Kūfah, he said, "The *Sawād* (Iraqi lands) is the garden of Quraysh, its property." This statement greatly angered the notables of Kūfah. They did not accept it and responded, "The land of Iraq is territory that God has given us as *fayʾ* (spoils without battle). The share of Quraysh is like that of any other Muslim." The head of the police became enraged because they had answered the governor harshly. Matters escalated from argument to physical conflict. They beat the police chief until he lost consciousness. As a result, ʿUthmān dismissed Saʿīd and was compelled to appoint Abū Mūsá al-Ashʿarī as governor in his place. Abū Mūsá was originally Yemeni and was one of the Companions of the Prophet ﷺ. Previously, ʿUmar had appointed him governor over Baṣrah. [1052]

Baṣrah: Abū Mūsá al-Ashʿarī had been appointed governor of Baṣrah by ʿUmar. He was one of the Companions of the Prophet ﷺ. During his governorship, all matters in Baṣrah continued in good order. ʿUthmān did not dismiss Abū Mūsá. Neither did Abū Mūsá complain of the people of Baṣrah, nor they of him. During the caliphate of ʿUthmān, the governors of the three major centers were all from Quraysh and were among the relatives of ʿUthmān. The governor of Damascus was Muʿāwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān. The governor of Kūfah was al-Walīd ibn ʿUqbah, followed by Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ. The governor of Egypt was ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, who was later dismissed and replaced by ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd ibn Abī Sarḥ. However, the governor of Baṣrah was neither from Quraysh nor from the Umayyads; he was a Yemeni. One day, Ghaylān ibn Kharshah from the tribe of Ḍabbah came to ʿUthmān and said, "Do you not have any younger relative whom you can appoint over Baṣrah?

[1052] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 2:779 #57, 2:865 #50, 4:323, 403.

How long will this old man remain governor of Baṣrah?" Ghaylān was not alone when he met with ʿUthmān; he was accompanied by men from among the people of Baṣrah. Together, they all complained about Abū Mūsá. As a result, ʿUthmān dismissed Abū Mūsá. In the twenty-ninth year after the hijrah (650 CE), ʿUthmān appointed his cousin ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir ibn Kurz as governor of Baṣrah. At that time, ʿAbd Allāh was twenty-five years old.[1053]

Those Who Besieged ʿUthmān: Those who besieged ʿUthmān came from three major centers. Those who came from Egypt: In the month of Shawwāl in the thirty-fifth year of the hijrah (approximately May 656 CE), four groups departed from Egypt, each under the leadership of a commander. Some said their number was at least six hundred. Those who claimed they were numerous said they numbered one thousand. Their leaders were: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿUdays al-Balawī, Kinānah ibn Bishr al-Tujībī, ʿUrwah ibn Shaybah al-Laythī, and Sūdān ibn Ḥumrān al-Sakūnī. Over them all was al-Ghāfiqī ibn Ḥarb al-ʿAkkī. They did not inform the public that they were heading out to battle; rather, they set out as though they were going on pilgrimage. [1054] Those who came from Kūfah: The people of Kūfah also departed in four groups, each under a leader. Their leaders were: Zayd ibn Suḥān al-ʿAbdī, al-Ashtar al-Nakhaʿī, Ziyād ibn al-Naḍr al-Ḥārithī, and ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Aṣamm. Their number was equal to those who came from Egypt. Over them was ʿAmr ibn al-Aṣamm. [1055] Those who came from Baṣrah: The people of Baṣrah also departed in four groups, each under a leader. Their leaders were: Ḥakīm ibn Jabalah al-ʿAbdī, Zurayḥ ibn ʿAbbād al-ʿAbdī, Bishr ibn Shurayḥ al-Qaysī, and Ibn al-Muḥarrish ibn ʿAbd ibn ʿAmr al-Ḥanafī. Their number was also equal to those who came from Egypt. Over them all was Ḥurqūṣ ibn Zuhayr al-Saʿdī. Those who joined them along the way were not included in this number. [1056]

The people of Egypt desired that ʿAlī should become caliph. The people of Baṣrah desired that Ṭalḥah should become caliph. The people of Kūfah desired that al-Zubayr should become caliph.[1057] They camped at separate locations three miles from Madīnah. Ziyād ibn

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[1053] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:264.
[1054] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:348.
[1055] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:349.
[1056] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:349.
[1057] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:349.

al-Naḍr and ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Aṣamm traveled back and forth among them. Each group approached ʿAlī, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr, declaring that they would pledge allegiance to them. All three refused and drove the groups away. At that point, all groups were on the verge of returning to their homelands. However, they suddenly turned back and laid siege to ʿUthmān. The messengers of the people of Madīnah, among them ʿAlī, said to the besiegers: "You were departing. Why did you return?" They replied: "As we were returning to our homeland, we intercepted a courier carrying a letter commanding our execution."[1058]

One of the Causes of the Escalation of the Civil Strife: The Killing of Niyār ibn ʿIyāḍ al-Sulamī. The incident was as follows: After the days of *tashrīq* (the days following the ʿĪd al-Aḍḥá festival), those who had come to besiege surrounded the house of ʿUthmān. They said to him, "Renounce the caliphate." ʿUthmān refused to renounce the caliphate and gathered his close freinds and relatives in his home. Among the Companions of the Prophet ﷺ was Niyār ibn ʿIyāḍ, an elderly man. He [was with the group that came to ʿUthmān's house and he] called out to ʿUthmān. ʿUthmān looked at him from within his house. Niyār ibn ʿIyāḍ, in the name of God, sought to elicit an oath and was speaking with ʿUthmān. At that moment, one of ʿUthmān's supporters shot an arrow and killed Niyār. According to some reports, the arrow was shot by Kathīr ibn al-Ṣalt. The besiegers said: "Hand over to us the one who killed Niyār ibn ʿIyāḍ, and we will kill him." ʿUthmān replied: "You seek to kill me, and I should kill someone who supports me?" Given this response, they attacked ʿUthmān's house. They set fire to the door. Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam confronted them with a group, Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ with another group, and Mugḥīrah ibn al-Akhnas al-Thaqafī with yet another group. A fierce battle ensued between them. This event became one of the causes of the intensification of the *fitnah* (civil strife). [1059]

ʿUthmān's Letter to Muʿāwiyah : When ʿUthmān saw what had befallen him, and that the people had risen against him, he sent the following letter to the governor of Syria, Muʿāwiyah : "In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful. To proceed: The people of

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[1058] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:351.

[1059] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:382; Ibn al-Athīr, Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Abī al-Karam al-Jazarī, *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, 2:541; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣubḥī, *Fitnat maqtal ʿUthmān*, 2:680; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣābah fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥābah*, 6:381 #8859.

Madīnah have fallen into unbelief, broken the oath of allegiance, and disobeyed authority. Send me every kind of mount and men from the warriors of Syria." The letter reached Muʿāwiyah . He did not wish to openly oppose the Companions of the Messenger of God ﷺ knowing that they had gathered. When Muʿāwiyah delayed in taking action concerning ʿUthmān, the latter wrote to Yazīd ibn Asad ibn Kurz and to the people of Syria, seeking their assistance. He reminded them of the many rights he had over them, mentioning the previous caliphs, and stating that God had commanded obedience to them. He explained the necessity of offering advice when needed. He reminded them that he had made them his close associates and soldiers, and that he had suffered tribulation on account of them. He reminded them of what he had done for them. "If you have the means to save me, then hasten, hasten! For the people are hastening against me." When the letter of ʿUthmān was read to them, Yazīd ibn Asad ibn Kurz al-Bajalī al-Qaṣrī stood up. After praising and extolling God, he mentioned ʿUthmān, elevated his standing, and encouraged the people to support him. He commanded that they set out immediately to support him. Many people accompanied him and they set out. When they reached Wādī al-Qurá, they heard the news that ʿUthmān had been killed. So they returned [back the way they came]. [1060]

There is a report in *Ṭabaqāt* by Muḥammad ibn Saʿd which reads as follows: If this report is authentic, it may be said that it is one of the causes of the calamity. Muḥammad ibn Saʿd transmits the report through two chains of transmission: one from ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, and the other from ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās. They said: ʿUthmān sent Miswar ibn Makhramah to Muʿāwiyah to inform him that he was under siege and to command him to quickly send an army to rescue him. When ʿUthmān's envoy reached Muʿāwiyah and explained the situation, Muʿāwiyah mounted his best camels and set out, taking with him Muʿāwiyah ibn Ḥudayj and Muslim ibn ʿUqbah. They departed from Syria and reached ʿUthmān in ten days. He entered Madīnah in the middle of the night. He knocked on the door of ʿUthmān, entered, and bowed to kiss his head. ʿUthmān asked, "Where is the army?" Muʿāwiyah replied, "By God, we have come to you as three men." ʿUthmān said, "May God not cause your kinship to reach me. May He not grant honor to your support. May He not reward you on my

[1060] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:368.

account. By God, I am being blamed because of you. I will be killed because of you." Muʿāwiyah responded: "May my mother and father be sacrificed for you. If I had sent an army, they would have known. They would have killed you before the army reached you. I have with me the fastest and finest camels. No one knows I have come. Come with me. By God, in three nights you will see the signs of Syria. Syria is the place with the most Muslim men, and they have the best opinion of you." ʿUthmān replied, "What an evil thing you have said." He refused to go with him. Muʿāwiyah set out to return to Syria. Miswar then came to Madīnah and went to ʿUthmān. The latter did not accept his excuse and spoke against Muʿāwiyah . During the final siege, ʿUthmān sent Miswar once again to Muʿāwiyah. Miswar said to him: " ʿUthmān has sent me to you so that you may send him men and cavalry, to fully support him and protect him from injustice." Muʿāwiyah said: " ʿUthmān did good, and God did good to him. Then he changed, and God changed things for him. He was afflicted. O, Miswar, when ʿUthmān's soul had nearly reached his throat, you all abandoned him." Miswar replied: "You said to me: 'Go and ward off death from him.' That is not in my hands. May the mercy and pleasure of God be upon ʿUthmān. No one came to my house until after he had been killed."[1061]

The Beginning of the *Fitnah* and the Development of Events: Among the reports in the books that recount the story of those who came from Egypt, Kūfah, and Baṣrah to Madīnah against ʿUthmān, those who besieged him and ultimately killed him, there are slight differences. Because of this, what we present will contain such variations and repetitions. Those who came from Egypt camped at a place called

[1061] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, the *mutammim* volume, ed. al-Sulamī, 2:146 #613.

Suqyā[1062] or Dhū Ḥushub. [1063] Those who came from Baṣrah camped at Dhū Ḥushub. Those who came from Kūfah[1064] camped at al-Aʿwāṣ. [1065]

The Meetings of Those Who Came from Egypt, Kūfah, and Baṣrah to Madīnah with ʿUthmān: Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī transmitted, through the *siyar* scholar Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq, from Yaḥyá ibn ʿAbbād, who narrated from his father, ʿAbbād ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr. He said: The people of Egypt wrote a letter to ʿUthmān from a place called Sukhyā or Dhū Ḥushub. One of them brought the letter to ʿUthmān. ʿUthmān gave him no reply, and upon his command, the man was removed from the house. Those who came from Egypt to ʿUthmān numbered six hundred. They arrived in four banners, in four groups. Among them, the persons authorized to make decisions on behalf of all were two of the Prophet's ﷺ Companions: ʿAmr ibn Budayl ibn Waraqāʾ al-Khuzāʿī and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿUdays al-Tujībī.

They had written the following letter to ʿUthmān: "In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful. To proceed: Know that God does not change what is in a people until they change what is in themselves. We remind you, by God, by God, again: by God, by God. You are upon the world; complete your Hereafter with it. Do not mix your share of the Hereafter with the world, for the world will not always be pleasant and sweet for you. Know also that we become angry for the sake of God, and we are content for the sake of God. Unless you manifest a clear repentance, we shall not lower our swords from our shoulders. Everything is plain. This is our message to you and the matter we have with you. May God accept our excuse concerning you. Peace."

[1062] Suqyā: In the Ḥijāz, there are several places called Suqyā. The one intended here is a location approximately 100 kilometers from Madīnah, two stages before Dhū Ḥushub on the route from Egypt to Madīnah. Aḥmad ibn Isḥāq al-Yaʿqūbī, *al-Buldān*, 180.

[1063] Dhū Ḥushub: A location on the route from Egypt to Madīnah, one stage before the city, approximately 35 kilometers distant today. Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ḥasan Shurrāb, *al-Maʿālim al-asīrah fī al-sunnah wa-al-sīrah*, 108; Aḥmad ibn Isḥāq al-Yaʿqūbī, *al-Buldān*, 180.

[1064] Al-Aʿwāṣ: A place east of Madīnah; today, it is the location of the Madīnah airport. Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ḥasan Shurrāb, *al-Maʿālim al-asīrah fī al-sunnah wa-al-sīrah*, 31.

[1065] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:349.

The people of Madīnah also wrote a letter to ʿUthmān, calling him to repentance. They cited specific reasons and swore by God that if he did not give them what was due to them from God's right, they would not prevent those besieging him until he was killed. When ʿUthmān feared he would be killed, he consulted with the members of his household and those who could advise and guide him. He said: "You have seen what this group has done. What possible way out is there?" Those offering counsel said: "Send word to ʿAlī the son of Abū Ṭālib, and ask him to repel them. In order to buy time until help reaches you, let ʿAlī give them everything that would please them." ʿUthmān said: "This group will not accept such excuses. They had previously taken a pledge from me. When they first arrived, matters unfolded as they did. Whenever I promise them anything, they immediately demand that I fulfill it." Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam said: "O, Commander of the Believers, it is better for you to draw near to them until you grow strong, than for them to increase in numbers. Give them whatever they want. As long as they grant you a delay, prolong the matter. They have wronged you."

ʿUthmān replied: "They have no word that can be trusted." Then ʿUthmān sent word to ʿAlī. When ʿAlī came, ʿUthmān said: "O, father of Ḥasan, you see what the people are doing. And you know what I have done. I fear they will kill me. Repel them from me. God, Mighty and Majestic, is between us. Even if it costs me the shedding of my own blood, I will remove whatever they dislike. Whether from me or from someone else, I will grant them whatever rightful demands they have." ʿAlī said to ʿUthmān: "What the people need is not to kill you, but justice. From what I can see, this group will not be persuaded until you satisfy them. When they first arrived, you promised them, in the name of God, that you would abandon the very things they criticized you for. I turned them back [you asked me to turn them away from you and I did]. But you did not fulfill a single thing you had promised. Do not deceive me this time. Otherwise, I will stand with them against you." ʿUthmān replied: "Yes. Give them whatever they want. By God, I will fulfill everything you promise on my behalf."

Then ʿAlī went out to the people and addressed them: "O, people, you have asked for the truth, and it has been given to you. ʿUthmān has abandoned everything that you disapprove of. He will act justly regarding himself and others. Accept this from him, and ask him for a guarantee." The people replied: "We accept. Secure a promise from him

on our behalf. By God, we will not be content with mere words without action." ʿAlī said: "So be it." Then he went to the house of ʿUthmān and told him what had transpired. ʿUthmān said: "Set a time between me and them, so I may have the opportunity to do these things. I cannot fulfill all their demands in a single day." ʿAlī said to him: "There is no delay for those who are present in Madīnah. As for those who are absent, your order will reach them." ʿUthmān said: "Very well. But grant me three days for those who are in Madīnah." ʿAlī said: "Agreed."

ʿAlī then went out and informed the people of what had taken place. He wrote a pact between them and ʿUthmān for a period of three days. According to this agreement: All property taken unjustly would be returned to its rightful owner. Officials whom the people opposed would be removed from office. The covenant and promise which God has taken from His servants would be taken from ʿUthmān through this agreement. Some of the elders of the Muhājirûn and the Anṣār have witnessed this. The Muslims gave up on him. They went to the place where they had stayed to fulfill the promises he had made.

Meanwhile, ʿUthmān prepared for battle [instead of keeping his promises]. He attempted to arm himself. He had formed a military unit from the slaves obtained from Ḥumṣ. After three days, no change had been made regarding the governors whom the people did not accept. ʿUthmān did not remove any officials [as he had promised three days earlier]. The people became enraged. ʿAmr ibn Ḥazm al-Anṣārī went to the Egyptians camped at Dhī Ḥūshub. He told them what had happened. He came to Madīnah with them. They sent a message to ʿUthmān, saying: "Did you not say when we parted that you had repented for what had happened and would not do the things we did not want? Did you not give us your word before God?" ʿUthmān said, "Yes, I stand by my word." They said: "What about the letter we found with your messenger, written to your governor?" ʿUthmān replied, "I did not do it, and I know nothing about what you are talking about." They said: "Your courier was riding a camel, and the letter written by your scribe has your seal on it." ʿUthmān said, "The camel was stolen. The writings are similar, and the seal has been imprinted the same way." They said: "Although we accuse you, we are not hasty. Remove your sinful governors. Appoint governors whom we will not accuse in matters of our property and lives (whom we can trust). Return to us the rights that were taken from us unjustly." ʿUthmān replied: "If I remove those whom you

do not want and appoint those whom you want, then you will have authority over me. You will have made the decision." They said: "We swear by God that you will either do what we ask or you will be killed. Put an end to this matter." Uthmān said, "I will not take off the robe that God has clothed me with, despite what you want." They besieged him for forty days. During the siege, Ṭalḥah was leading prayers.[1066] The Egyptians said: "When you saw the actions of some of the companions of the Prophet ﷺ and others that they did not accept, you beat them when they warned you and asked you to return to the truth. You oppressed them, so punish yourself." 'Uthmān replied: "Just as the imām's actions can be correct, they can also be wrong. I will not punish myself." The Egyptians said: "You have deserved to be removed for introducing major innovations. When warned about what you did, you repented, and then you did the same thing or something similar again. We came to you, you repented, and you asked for forgiveness. Muḥammad ibn Maslamah condemned us for you. He gave us his word that it would never happen again. But you broke that promise, and he cut off relations with you."

He said that he would no longer deal with your affairs. We have relied on God in this matter. We accepted your apology and turned back to remove what you had brought forward. We obtained the letter you sent to your governor in Egypt, instructing him to cut off our hands and feet and execute us. You claimed that this letter was written without your knowledge. However, this letter was with your slave, it was written by your scribe, and it had your seal on it. This ugly accusation remains on you. With the decision you had made earlier, we were wronged and oppressed. When the goods were distributed and punishments were applied, people were treated differently based on personal status. After showing repentance for these deeds, you repeated the same mistake again. We turned back. In fact, we should not have returned without removing you and placing someone from the companions of the Messenger of God ﷺ, someone experienced, who would not do the things you did. Return our caliphate to us. Withdraw from our affairs. This is the safest course for both our freedom from you and your freedom from us, they said.

[1066] Al-Ṭabarī transmits in this report that Ṭalḥah led the prayer, but that has not been accepted.

ʿUthmān said: "Have all your demands been met?" The Egyptians replied: "Yes." ʿUthmān said: "Praise be to God. I thank Him, seek His help, believe in Him, and place my trust in Him. I bear witness that there is no deity but Him, and Muḥammad is His servant and messenger. Even though the polytheists may dislike it, He sent him with guidance and the true religion to make it prevail over all religions." Then he continued: "As for what you have said, you have not been just in your speech, nor have you been fair in your judgment. Regarding what you said: 'Depose yourself,' I will not remove the robe that God, Exalted and Majestic, has bestowed upon me. I will only repent, and I will never again do the things that the Muslims find shameful or disapprove of. I swear by God that I am in need of Him, and I fear Him."

The Egyptians replied: "If this were something you did for the first time, and you repented and did not repeat it, we would accept your apology and leave you alone. But as you know, many incidents have occurred before this. This is the first time we gave up on you. We are not afraid of what was written in the letter we found with your slave and what may be written again. How can we accept your repentance? We have been tested by you. You do not repent from the sins you have committed, and you continue to commit them. We will not leave until you are deposed and replaced by someone else. If your people, relatives, and those who are with you fight us to prevent this, we will fight too. We will either kill you, or our souls will return to God," they said.

ʿUthmān replied: "As for giving up the leadership, if you kill me, it is more preferable to me than renouncing the command and the caliphate that God, Exalted and Majestic, has given me. As for your statement about fighting with you, I will not command anyone to fight you. If someone fights, they are doing so without my order. If I wanted to fight you, I would have written to the soldiers. I would have sent men and ordered them to march on you. Or I would have gone to my supporters in Egypt and Iraq. For your souls, I remind you of God. Even if you do not protect me, protect yourselves. If you kill me, you will be accountable for it," he said. They left him and said they would go to war. ʿUthmān sent a message to Muḥammad ibn Maslamah [who intervened for ʿUthmān before, but then ʿUthmān did not keep his promises]. He spoke with him to send them back. Muḥammad ibn

Maslamah said: "I swear by God, I will not find myself in a situation of being falsely accused before God twice in one year." [1067]

The narration of Sufyān ibn Abī al-ʿAwjāʾ in *al-Tabarī*: Sufyān said: The Egyptians came the first time. ʿUthmān spoke with Muḥammad ibn Maslamah. He sent him to the Egyptians to speak with them. Muḥammad ibn Maslamah went with fifty cavalry from the Anṣār to meet them. They met at a place called Dhī Ḥushub. He convinced them, and they turned back. [1068] As the Egyptians were leaving, they found one of ʿUthmān's slaves at a place called Buwayb. [1069] Along with him, they found a letter addressed to the governor of Egypt, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd. They immediately turned around and returned to Madīnah. Al-Ashter and Hakīm ibn Jabala had not yet left Madīnah. They brought the letter and showed it to ʿUthmān. ʿUthmān denied it, saying: "I did not write it. This was done without my knowledge." The Egyptians said: "This letter is written by your scribe." ʿUthmān replied: "Yes, but it was written without my command." The Egyptians said: "The slave we found with the letter is your slave." ʿUthmān replied: "Yes, but he went without my permission." The Egyptians said: "The camel is your camel." ʿUthmān responded: "Yes, but he took it without my knowledge." The Egyptians said: "Either you are telling the truth, or you are lying. If you are lying, you deserve to be deposed, for you have ordered the shedding of our blood without right. If you are telling the truth, you still deserve to be deposed, for you are a weak ruler and negligent. Your associates are vile people. Due to your weakness and negligence, these things are happening without your knowledge. You must abandon this situation, for we should take responsibility for this matter." [1070]

The meeting between the Egyptians and ʿUthmān: Abū Usayd al-Anṣārī's (freed) slave, Abū Saʿīd, narrated, saying: ʿUthmān heard that the Egyptian delegation had arrived. ʿUthmān was outside Madīnah at the time. The Egyptian delegation went to where ʿUthmān was. They did not find it appropriate to meet with him in Madīnah. ʿUthmān

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[1067] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:369-371.

[1068] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:375.

[1069] Būwayb: A locality near Fusṭāṭ, along the Egyptian route used by the people of the Ḥijāz. ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Andalusī, *Muʃam mā ustuʃima min asmāʾ al-bilād wa-al-mawāḍiʿ*, 1:285.

[1070] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:375.

received them. During the first meeting, they said: "Bring the *muṣḥaf*." The *muṣḥaf* was brought. They said: "It is the seventh surah, Yūnus, open it and read." When ʿUthmān read

﴿ قُلْ أَرَأَيْتُمْ مَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ لَكُمْ مِنْ رِزْقٍ فَجَعَلْتُمْ مِنْهُ حَرَامًا وَحَلَالًا قُلْ آللَّهُ أَذِنَ لَكُمْ أَمْ عَلَى اللَّهِ تَفْتَرُونَ ﴾

"Say: What do you think of declaring part of the provisions God has sent down to you as lawful and part of them as unlawful? Say: Did God give you permission, or are you attributing lies to God?"[1071] They stopped him at this verse and said: "You know the things you have declared sacred. Did God permit you to declare them sacred, or are you lying about God?" The verse was revealed concerning such and such matters. As for the sacred land, ʿUmar had made a sanctuary for the zakat camels before me. When I became caliph, the number of zakat camels increased, and I expanded the sanctuary. They questioned him about the verse, and he responded: "The verse was revealed about such and such matters," he said. The one who questioned ʿUthmān was a man in his thirties. They questioned him about things ʿUthmān could not answer and found no way out. Finally, ʿUthmān said: "I repent to God, I seek His forgiveness," and he said to them: "What do you want from me?" The Egyptians made an agreement with him. They wrote their terms, and ʿUthmān agreed to fulfill them on the condition that they would not cause division or separate from the community. He asked them: "What do you want?" They replied: "The people of Madīnah should not receive any gifts, for this wealth belongs to the warriors and the elderly companions of Muḥammad ﷺ." He agreed. ʿUthmān and the Egyptians then went to Madīnah together. ʿUthmān delivered a sermon and said: "By God, I have not seen a better delegation than this one." After repeating this, he said: "Those with land should go to their land. Those with livestock should go to their herds." He addressed the people of Madīnah: "Know that this wealth is not yours. It belongs to the warriors and the elderly companions of Muḥammad ﷺ." The people became angry, saying: "This is the trickery of the sons of

[1071] Q. Yūnus, 10:59.

Umayyah." The Egyptian delegation returned to their country, satisfied.[1072]

Now the Egyptians said to ʿUthmān: "By God, you have broken your promise, and God has made your blood lawful." They besieged him in his house. ʿUthmān looked out from his house and called to them, saying: "Peace be upon you." If anyone responded, "and upon you be peace" quietly within themselves, it was not heard aloud by anyone. ʿUthmān said: "For the sake of God, you know that I purchased the Rūmah well from my own property to provide fresh water, and I allowed everyone to take water from it, and I made my right to draw water from it the same as any other Muslim. Is that not so?" They replied: "Yes." He then asked: "So why did you prevent me from taking water from this well, even though I broke my fast with sea water?" "For the sake of God, you know that I purchased such and such land to extend the mosque. Is that not so?" They replied: "Yes." He continued: "Did you know that no one has been prevented from praying in this mosque?" They answered: "No." Recalling the words about himself, he said: "For the sake of God, did you not hear the Prophet of God ﷺ say such and such?" The people began to say: "Give the Commander of the Believers a chance." Ashtar stood up and said: "A trick has been played on both you and him." ʿUthmān addressed them for the second time from his house, giving advice and reminding them. However, these speeches did not have an impact on them anymore. Initially, his speeches affected the people, but once repeated, they no longer had the same effect. [1073]

ʿUthmān's Meeting with Ashtar: The freedman of ʿUmar, who served ʿUthmān, named Waṣṣāb, said: "'Uthmān sent me to call Ashtar. Ashtar came, and ʿUthmān asked him: 'O, Ashtar, what do the people want from me?' Ashtar replied: 'They want three things from you, one of which must certainly happen.' ʿUthmān asked: 'What are they?' Ashtar said: 'They give you three options. You will either remove yourself from office and choose whomever you wish, or you will apply punishment to yourself. If you do not do one of these, they will kill you.' ʿUthmān

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[1072] Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah,* 1:470-765, 766; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf,* 7:420-37690, 37691; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ,* 15:357 #6919; Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfah,* 167, 171, 172.

[1073] Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf,* 7:521 #37691.

asked: 'Is one of these necessary?' Ashtar replied: 'One of them is necessary.' ʿUthmān then said: 'As for removing myself from office, it is like taking off a garment that God, the Exalted, has clothed me with. As for applying punishment to myself, my companions (Abū Bakr, ʿUmar) would have carried out any punishment while I was with them. My body has never been subject to any punishment. As for you killing me, by God, I swear that if you kill me, you will never love each other again. You will never pray together again, and you will never fight the enemy together again.' Ashtar stood up and left."[1074]

The Important Narration of Ibn Abī Shaybah, Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, and Khalīfah ibn Hayyāṭ: ʿUthmān said: "Let the people from each region stand up; if they do not wish for their governors, I will remove them, and I will appoint whomever they desire." The people of Baṣrah said: "We are pleased with ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir; let him remain in his position." The people of Kūfah said: "Dismiss Saʿīd and appoint Abū Mūsá." ʿUthmān did this. The people of Syria said: "We are pleased with Muʿāwiyah; let him remain in his position." The people of Egypt said: "Remove ibn Abī Sarḥ and appoint ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ." ʿUthmān did this as well. Whatever they requested, he did. He reached agreements with the people of Egypt and Kūfah, and they returned to their regions. [1075]

The Siege of ʿUthmān and the Prevention of His Leading Prayers: When the Egyptians arrived for the second time, the siege had not yet intensified. ʿUthmān was still able to go out for prayer, and anyone who wished could come and go freely. However, they later prohibited him from leaving his house and even prevented him from attending the obligatory prayers. The people besieging him began leading the prayers, and it reached a point where ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿAdīy ibn Khiyār refused to follow the imām who was leading the prayers, as he considered it invalid. [1076] Bukhārī narrated the prevention of prayer but did not specify who led the prayers. His narration is as follows: ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿĀdīy ibn Khiyār reported: "While ʿUthmān was under siege, I went to

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[1074] Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 7:514 #37654; Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:369, 372.

[1075] Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 7:521 #37691; Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 3:66; Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfah*, 169, 170.

[1076] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣubḥī, *Fitnat maqtal ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān*, 1:172, 173.

him and said: 'You are the imām of the people, and you see the situation you are in. A *fitnah* imām is leading us in prayer. We want to avoid this.' ʿUthmān replied: 'The best act of worship that people can do is prayer. When people do good, join them in doing good. When they do evil, avoid their evil'."[1077]

Though the narration from al-Wāqidī is weak, according to the narration of Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, we learn that during the siege, the commander of the group, al-Ghāfīqī, was the one who led the prayers. Al-Ṭabarī's narration is as follows: During the siege, ʿUthmān led the prayers for thirty days. Then, they prevented him from leading the prayers. The Egyptian commander, al-Ghāfīqī, began leading the prayers. The Egyptians, Kūfans, and Baṣrans accepted him as the Imām. The people of Madīnah shut themselves in their homes, and no one left their houses. Even when individuals were at home, they would sit armed with swords, guarding themselves from the incoming disturbance. The siege lasted for forty days. [1078]

Consultation with ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar Regarding the Request for ʿUthmān's Deposition: [1079] Narration from Muḥammad ibn Saʿd: ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar reported: While ʿUthmān was under siege in his house, he said to me: "What do you think about what Mughīrah ibn al-Akhnas has told me?" I asked him: "What did he say to you?" ʿUthmān replied: "Mughīrah told me: 'This group wants you to be deposed. If you are deposed, they will leave you. If you are not deposed, they will kill you'." I responded to ʿUthmān: "If you are deposed, will you remain in this world forever?" ʿUthmān replied: "No." I asked: "Do they control Heaven and Hell?" ʿUthmān responded: "No." I then asked: "If you are not deposed, will they do anything other than kill you?" ʿUthmān answered: "No." I advised him: "Do not make such an act a custom in Islam. Whenever a group is displeased with their ruler, they deposed him immediately. Do not take off the shirt that God has clothed you with." [1080]

[1077] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 1:178 #695.

[1078] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:354.

[1079] *Khalʿ*: from the Arabic root letters (ع،ل،خ). It carries meanings such as: to remove, to depose, to take off, to dismiss, to strip. In political terms, it refers to the act of deposing kings or rulers from the throne.

[1080] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 3:47, 48.

Narration from Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ: While ʿUthmān was discussing this situation with the people, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar came to them. ʿUthmān said to ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar: "Look at what they are saying to me: ʿDepose yourself, do not kill yourself ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar responded: "If you deposed yourself, will you remain in this world forever?" ʿUthmān replied: "No." ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar then asked: "If you do not depose yourself, will they do anything other than kill you?" ʿUthmān said: "No." ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar then asked: "Will they be able to grant you Heaven or Hell?" ʿUthmān replied: "No." ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar said: "I do not find it appropriate for you to remove the shirt that God has clothed you with. This would become a custom. Whenever a group becomes displeased with their ruler or imām, they will kill him."[1081]

ʿUthmān Listening to the Conversations of Those Besieging Him: Narrations from Muḥammad ibn Saʿd and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal: While ʿUthmān was under siege in his house, he listened to the conversations of those besieging him from the window that overlooked the square in front of his house. They were threatening to kill him. ʿUthmān had not expected the situation to escalate to this point. He went inside the house with those accompanying him, and his color changed. He said to those with him: "They are threatening to kill me." They replied: "O, Commander of the Believers, God will protect you." ʿUthmān then said: "Why will they kill me? I heard from the Messenger of God ﷺ that the blood of no Muslim is permissible to shed except in three cases: if someone turns apostate after believing, if someone commits adultery while married, or if someone kills another person unjustly. I swear by God, neither in the time of ignorance nor after becoming a Muslim have I ever committed adultery. After God guided me, I never desired to change my religion. I have never killed anyone. Why will they kill me?"[1082]

Narration from Abū Umāmah, the son of Sahl ibn Ḥanīf: Abū Umāmah, the son of Sahl ibn Ḥanīf, narrated: On the day ʿUthmān was besieged in his house, he addressed those besieging him, saying: "For the sake of God, I swear by the Messenger of God ﷺ that no Muslim's

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[1081] Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfah*, 170; Khalīfah's transmission in: Ibn ʿAsākir ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 39:359.

[1082] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 3:67; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 1:491 #437.

blood is lawful to shed except in three cases: if someone commits adultery while married, if someone turns apostate after becoming a Muslim, or if someone kills another person unjustly. I swear by God, neither in the time of ignorance nor after becoming a Muslim have I ever committed adultery. After I pledged allegiance to the Messenger of God ﷺ, I never apostatized. I have never killed anyone whom God has forbidden. Why will you kill me?" [1083]

ʿUthmān Wanting to Meet ʿAlī: Muḥammad al-Baqir, the son of ʿAlī (Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn) and the father of Jaʿfar, narrated: While ʿUthmān was under siege in his house, he sent a message to ʿAlī asking to meet with him. ʿAlī was preparing to go to ʿUthmān, but his son, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah, stopped him and prevented him from going. ʿAlī removed his black turban and said: "O, God, I did not command his killing, nor am I pleased with it." He repeated this sentence twice. [1084]

The Companions' Desire to Defend ʿUthmān and His Rejection of Their Defense: When the Companions observed the boldness of the besiegers, they feared for ʿUthmān's fate. Some of them came and expressed their desire to protect him. ʿUthmān did not accept. They came a second time, insisting that they wanted to protect and defend him. ʿUthmān again resolutely refused. Seeing that the situation had become exceedingly perilous, the Companions began to prepare to fight in his defense. Nevertheless, ʿUthmān emphatically refused to allow them to fight. Ḥasan, the son of ʿAlī, came and said to ʿUthmān, "I will draw my sword." ʿUthmān replied, "I seek refuge in God from your blood being spilled. Return to your father." [1085] Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar, ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, and Marwān armed themselves and entered ʿUthmān's house. ʿUthmān said, "For the sake of God, turn back. Lay down your weapons and remain in your homes." ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn departed from the house.

[1083] Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 4:30 #2158; Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath, *al-Sunan*, 4:170 #4502; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 3:428 #3468, *al-Mujtabá*, 7:91 #4019; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 1:502 #452, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 1:464 #752, 1:495 #806; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 4:390 #8028; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī said this ḥadīth meets the conditions of al-Bukhārī and Muslim.

[1084] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 3:71; Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 15:209.

[1085] Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 15:224.

Ḥasan was the last to leave ʿUthmān's house.[1086] According to the reports, despite ʿUthmān's strong insistence that no one fight in his defense, some minor skirmishes still occurred. Based on these narrations, Ḥasan, the son of ʿAlī, was carried out of the house wounded.[1087] Kinānah, the freedman of the Mother of the Believers Ṣafīyah, narrated: "I witnessed the killing of ʿUthmān. I saw four young men from Quraysh brought out of the house before me, wounded and covered in blood. They were: Ḥasan, the son of ʿAlī; ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr; Muḥammad ibn Ḥaṭīb; and Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam. They had been defending ʿUthmān."[1088]

The Killing of ʿUthmān: Muḥammad, the son of Abū Bakr, entered and took hold of ʿUthmān's beard. ʿUthmān said to him, "You are sitting in a place and doing to me something your father would never have done." At this, Muḥammad ibn Abū Bakr let go of him and went out. The siege of ʿUthmān continued until Friday, the twelfth day of Dhū al-Ḥijjah in the thirty-fifth year after the hijrah (17th June 656 CE). Until that time, he remained in his house with several others.[1089] As previously mentioned, despite his persistent refusal, a number of individuals were in the house to protect and defend him: Ḥasan, the son of ʿAlī; ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar; ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr; ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir; Muḥammad ibn Ḥaṭīb; Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam; Kathīr ibn al-Ṣalt; and Nā'ilah, the daughter of Farāfiṣah, his wife.[1090] Due to ʿUthmān's insistence, all of them left the house. He was left alone with those besieging him.[1091] After everyone had departed, he opened the door of the house, opened the *muṣḥaf*, and began to recite. He was fasting

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[1086] Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfah*, 174.

[1087] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 8:128; Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-ṣaghīr*, 7:237; ʿAlī ibn al-Jaʿd, *al-Musnad*, 2:959.

[1088] Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Iṣābah fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb*, 3:1046.

[1089] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 3:71; Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 15:227; Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfah*, 36.

[1090] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 3:70, 71, 75, 76; Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 15:204; Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfah*, 173, 175; Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Barr al-Namarī, *al-Iṣābah fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb*, 3:78; Saʿīd ibn Manṣūr, *al-Sunan*, 2:336; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, 1:57; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Talkhīṣ al-mutashābih*, 1:96.

[1091] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 3:70.

that day. [1092] According to some reports, an unnamed person entered. ʿUthmān said to him: "Between me and you is the book of God." Upon hearing this, the man left. [1093]

Then another man from the Sadūs tribe, known as "al-Mawt al-Aswad" (The Black Death), entered and strangled ʿUthmān by the throat until he died. He later confessed: "The easiest thing I did was to strangle him. I saw his soul leave. When I exited, I said: By God, I have never touched anything softer than his throat. I strangled him and saw how his breath quivered in his body." Then another man entered. The *muṣḥaf* was open in front of ʿUthmān. He said: "Let the book of God be between me and you." The man struck with a sword. ʿUthmān raised his hand to shield himself, and it was severed or wounded, whether it was entirely cut off is uncertain. ʿUthmān exclaimed: "By God, this is the hand that wrote the *mufaṣṣalāt* sūrahs for the first time." [1094] There is also a narration that al-Tujībī entered and struck ʿUthmān on the head with the tip of an arrow. Blood gushed onto the open *muṣḥaf* in front of him.

﴿ فَسَيَكْفِيكَهُمُ اللَّهُ وَهُوَ السَّمِيعُ الْعَلِيمُ ﴾

"God is sufficient for you against them. He is the All-Hearing, the All-Knowing" [1095] That was the verse upon which the gushing blood landed. [1096] That bloodstain was never wiped from the *muṣḥaf*.

Many people crowded around him. His wife, Nāʾilah, the daughter of Farāfiṣah, cried out: "You have killed him! He used to recite the entire Qurʾān in a single *rukʿah* during the night prayer." [1097] The one who killed him raised his hand and said, "I have killed Naʿthal." [1098]

Before ʿUthmān was killed, his wife Nāʾilah had taken her jewelry and placed it in her lap. When ʿUthmān was killed, she threw herself

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[1092] Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿAmr al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (al-Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 2:10-347; al-Lālakāʾī Abū al-Qāsim Hibat Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan, *Sharḥ uṣūl iʿtiqād ahl al-sunnah wa-al-jamāʿah*, 8:1436 #2577.

[1093] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 3:70, 75; Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfah*, 174; Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:383, 384; Ibn ʿAsākir ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 39:411.

[1094] Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfah*, 174, 175.

[1095] Q, al-Baqarah, 2:137.

[1096] Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfah*, 175; Ibn ʿAsākir ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 39:420.

[1097] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 3:76.

[1098] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 3:83, 84; ʿAlī ibn al-Jaʿd, *al-Musnad*, 2:958, 959; Ibn ʿAsākir ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 39:417, 418.

over his body. Some of those present said (referring to the woman), "May God kill her, how large her hips are!" Then Nā'ilah, the wife of ʿUthmān, said: "At that moment, I realized that the enemies of God desire nothing but this world." [1099]

According to the account in al-Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh*, the killing of ʿUthmān unfolded as follows: Many individuals entered the place where ʿUthmān was. One of the last to go in and come out was Muḥammad ibn Abū Bakr. ʿUthmān said to him: "Woe unto you! Are you enraged against God? Have I wronged you unjustly in any way?" Upon this, Muḥammad left. When he exited the house, those outside understood that the moment of crisis had arrived. Then the fury of Qatīrah of the Sukūn tribe, Sūdān ibn Ḥumrān, and al-Ghāfiqī boiled over. Al-Ghāfiqī struck ʿUthmān with an iron weapon and kicked the *muṣḥaf* with his foot. The *muṣḥaf* spun around and came to rest in ʿUthmān's lap, soaked with his blood. Sūdān ibn Ḥumrān then approached to strike him. Nā'ilah, the daughter of Farāfiṣah, threw herself upon her husband and tried to protect him with her hand. The assailant struck Nā'ilah's hand with his sword and severed her fingers. She was forced to withdraw. As he touched her hips, he remarked, "They are large." He then struck ʿUthmān again and killed him.

Some of ʿUthmān's freedmen rushed in. Seeing Sūdān delivering the fatal blow, some of them struck Sūdān's neck and killed him. Qatīrah then leapt upon and killed the man who had killed Sūdān. The attackers began to plunder the contents of the house and forced everyone out. They shut the door on the bodies of the three slain men. When Katīrah exited, one of ʿUthmān's freedmen killed him. The besiegers looted everything they found in the house. They even stripped the women of their possessions. A man called Kulthūm ibn Tujīb seized the cloak of Nā'ilah, the wife of ʿUthmān. When she withdrew, he remarked: "By her mother! What fine hips!" One of ʿUthmān's freedmen witnessed this and killed the man. He too was then slain.

Everyone scrambled to find their comrades. They called out to one another: "Save the Treasury! Let no one reach it before you!" The guardians of the Treasury heard them saying this and cried out: "Deliverance! They seek only the world!" The besiegers fled to the

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[1099] Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 7:520 #37690; Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfah*, 174, 175; Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:346.

Treasury and looted all that they found. They poured into it in waves. Those who resided in the city said "*Innā li-llāh*," ["We belong to God..."] weeping, while those arriving from outside rejoiced.

Al-Zubayr had departed from Madīnah so as not to witness the killing. When the news of ʿUthmān's murder reached him, he said: "*Innā lillāh wa-innā ilayhi rājiʿūn*" ("Indeed we belong to God, and to Him we shall return")[Q, al-Baqarah, 2:156] and "May God have mercy on ʿUthmān." He affirmed his loyalty to him. When he was told that the people had regretted their actions, al-Zubayr said: "Take precautions," and he recited the verse

﴿ وَحِيلَ بَيْنَهُمْ وَبَيْنَ ما يَشْتَهُونَ ﴾

"A barrier will be placed between them and what they desire" [1100]

Ṭalḥah also received the news. He said, "May God have mercy on ʿUthmān," and took the side of ʿUthmān and of Islam. When someone said to him, "They have regretted [what they did]," Ṭalḥah responded, "May they perish," and he recited the verse

﴿ فَلا يَسْتَطِيعُونَ تَوْصِيَةً وَلا إِلى أَهْلِهِمْ يَرْجِعُونَ ﴾

"At that moment they will not be able to make a will, nor will they return to their families." [1101]

The news of the killing reached ʿAlī. It was said: "'Uthmān has been killed." He said: "May God have mercy on ʿUthmān. May He appoint someone good for us in his place." It was said: "They have regretted [it]." ʿAlī recited:

﴿كَمَثَلِ الشَّيْطَانِ إِذْ قَالَ لِلْإِنْسَانِ اكْفُرْ فَلَمَّا كَفَرَ قَالَ إِنِّي بَرِيءٌ مِنْكَ﴾

"It is like the example of Satan, when Satan says to the human, 'Disbelieve.' Then, when the human disbelieves, he (Satan) says, 'I have nothing to do with you, for I fear God, the Lord of all the worlds'." [1102]

[1100] Q, Saba', 34:54.
[1101] Q, Yā Sīn, 36:50.
[1102] Q, al-Ḥashr, 59:16.

They searched for Saʿd. He was in his own palm grove. He had said, "I do not want to witness his killing." When he heard the news of his killing, he said, "We fled to Madīnah, and we were further humbled." And he recited

﴿الَّذِينَ ضَلَّ سَعْيُهُمْ فِي الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا وَهُمْ يَحْسَبُونَ أَنَّهُمْ يُحْسِنُونَ صُنْعًا﴾

"(These are) the ones whose efforts are wasted in this world, while they think that they are doing good works." [1103]

He said, "O, God, make them regret, then take them." [1104]

The Date of ʿUthmān's Killing: The date of his killing was the 12th of Dhu al-Hijjah in the 35th year of the hijrah, a Friday. [1105] The Killers of ʿUthmān: There are various reports regarding who killed ʿUthmān. It is not the main focus of our discussion to convey all the reports. The reason for this is that historians and biographers such as Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, and ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī have transmitted different reports. In summary, I have concluded that the person who killed him was an Egyptian man, [1106] a person from the Sedūs tribe named Jabalah ibn al-Ayham. Jabalah was called the "*al-aswad*" due to his dark skin. [1107] According to one report, his name was Ḥimār. [1108] Ibn Asākir provides the following information: His [ʿUthmān's] caliphate lasted for twelve years. He was killed at the age of eighty-two. [1109]

Those Who Prayed the Funeral Prayer for ʿUthmān: The prayer was led by Jubayr ibn Muṭʿim. Those who stood behind him included: Ḥakīm ibn Ḥizām, Ḥuwayṭib ibn ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, Zubayr ibn al-ʿUzzā, Mālīk ibn Abī ʿĀmir, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, Miswar ibn al-Makhramah, Abū Jahm ibn Ḥudhayfah al-ʿAdawī, his wife Naʾīlah bint

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[1103] Q, al-Kahf, 18:104.

[1104] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:391.

[1105] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:415.

[1106] Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfah*, 176; Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Shaybah, *al-Muṣannaf*, 15:206.

[1107] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-ṣaghīr*, 7:237; Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Iṣābah fī maʿrifat al-ṣaḥābah*, 3:349.

[1108] Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfah*, 175.

[1109] Ibn ʿAsākir ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 39:10.

al-Farʿah al-Kalbīyah, and the daughter of ʿUyaynah ibn al-Ḥiṣn, Umm al-Banīn al-Fazārīyah. [1110]

The Burial of ʿUthmān: Some of the Anṣār prevented his burial in the Baqīʿ cemetery. His body was carried by five people: Ḥakīm ibn Ḥizām, Jubayr ibn Muṭʿim, Niyār ibn Mukram, Abū Jahm ibn Ḥudhayfah, and Mālīk ibn Abī ʿĀmir. They also placed him in his grave and buried him. Mālīk ibn Abī ʿĀmir said: "I was one of those who carried ʿUthmān's body. On the night of Saturday, between the evening and night prayers, we placed him on a door and carried him. In fear and anxiety, we buried him in a courtyard called Kawkab, east of the Baqīʿ cemetery, near the graveyard." This place was later incorporated into the cemetery. [1111]

The Selection of the New Caliph After ʿUthmān's Killing: After ʿUthmān was killed, Madīnah remained without a caliph for five days. The prayers were led by the commander of the besieging forces, al-Ghāfiqī ibn Ḥarb. They were searching for someone to become the caliph, but they could not find anyone. The Egyptians were coming to ʿAlī. To avoid them, ʿAlī was hiding in Madīnah's date orchards. When they found him, he repeatedly pushed them away and told them that he was distant from them and their words. The Kūfans were searching for Zubayr but could not find him. They sent envoys to him, but he also pushed them away and told them that he was distant from them and their words. The Baṣrans were searching for Ṭalḥah. When they encountered him, he repeatedly pushed them away, saying he was distant from them and their words. While these people were in agreement over killing ʿUthmān, they were in disagreement over the selection of a new caliph. When they could not find someone to become caliph, they united on the following wicked thought. They said: "If anyone other than these three agrees to become caliph, we will choose them." They sent a message to Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ: "You are one of the members of the shūrá (consultative council). We are united in choosing you. Come, we will pledge allegiance to you," they said. Saʿd

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[1110] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 3:78-79; Abū Zurʿah ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAmr, *al-Tārīkh*, 187; Ibn ʿAsākir ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 39:10 #411; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 1:78, 79; Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī, *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥābah,* 1:259, 260.

[1111] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 3:77, 79; Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:412, 413, 414.

replied to them: " ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar and I have withdrawn from this matter. I have no need for it in any case," he said. Then they came to ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar. "You are the son of ʿUmar. Take this matter upon yourself," they said. ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar replied: "There is vengeance in these events. By God, I will not expose myself to this," he said. They were confused about how to proceed. Everything was dependent on them.

ʿALĪ CHOSEN AS CALIPH

The Situation After ʿUthmān's Murder and the Selection of the New Caliph: As we have previously explained, after the murder of the Commander of the Faithful, ʿUthmān, the rebels who had split into three factions, Egyptians, Kūfans, and Baṣrans, caused confusion and turmoil. When the Egyptians, led by al-Ghāfiqī, killed ʿUthmān, he assumed control of Madīnah and the rebels' leadership. Madīnah was left without a leader for several days under the rule of the insurgents. Since the outcome was uncertain, everyone was filled with anxiety. As previously noted, when Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī came from Syria to Madīnah, he found that the people of Madīnah were indulging in luxury, and his warnings about their wealth being plundered and their lives being at risk proved true.

Although the rebels were united in their opposition to ʿUthmān, they were divided in their choice of a new caliph. The Egyptians wanted ʿAlī, the Baṣrans wanted Ṭalḥah, and the Kūfans wanted Zubayr. When the Egyptians approached ʿAlī, he distanced himself from them. Similarly, when the Baṣrans came to Ṭalḥah and the Kūfans to Zubayr, both rejected them. The rebels then approached Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar, but both refused. The Umayyad elders had already fled. When no one accepted the caliphate, the rebels were at a loss for what to do. Fearing greater strife and calamity if they returned to their homelands, they decided to gather the people of Madīnah and said: "You are the people of the *shūrá*, and your opinion is binding on the ummah. We give you two days. If you do not settle this matter within this time, we will kill ʿAlī, Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, and others." The people of Madīnah were frightened and panicked. They gathered around ʿAlī to get him to accept the caliphate. ʿAlī replied, "This matter is not yours, it belongs to the people of Badr. Whoever they choose will be the caliph." Since the people of Badr were to choose, it was certain that they would select one of the ten promised paradise (*al-ʿasharah al-mubashsharah*). Among the living members of this group were ʿAlī, Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, and Saʿīd ibn Zayd. Saʿīd had withdrawn from public life, and Saʿd had also retired after ʿUthmān's murder. Therefore, the only qualified individuals for the caliphate were ʿAlī, Ṭalḥah, and Zubayr. It became evident that one of them had to be selected.

The people of Badr in Madīnah, believing that ʿAlī was the most deserving of the caliphate, went to him and pleaded for him to accept the pledge of allegiance. ʿAlī replied, "Leave me, and find someone else. It is more fitting for me to be a vizier than an emir. Whoever you choose, I will give my allegiance to them and obey them more than anyone else." The supporters of the caliphate insisted, "Do you not see the calamity that has befallen the Muslims?" They urged him to accept the caliphate. Faced with this insistence, ʿAlī agreed to accept the pledge of allegiance. However, he informed them that this would take place the next day. During these discussions, Ṭalḥah and Zubayr were absent. Considering that their pledge was also important, the people gathered on the twenty-fifth of Dhu al-Hijjah, on Friday, at the mosque. ʿAlī went to the mosque and ascended the pulpit, saying to those present, "The choice of the caliph belongs to you. Whoever you choose will be the caliph." The Baṣrans sent Ḥukaym ibn Jabalah with some soldiers to Zubayr, and the Kūfans sent Ashtar with soldiers to Ṭalḥah, bringing them both. ʿAlī then offered, "If you wish, I will give my allegiance to you." They replied, "No, we will give our allegiance to you." First, Ṭalḥah gave his allegiance to ʿAlī. During the Battle of Uḥud, when the Messenger of God ﷺ fell into a pit, Ṭalḥah had strained his hand while trying to lift him out. For this reason, some spread the belief that the first hand to give allegiance, which had become crippled, was a bad omen. When Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ was brought to the mosque to give his pledge, he said, "Let the people pledge allegiance, and I will also do so. There is no harm in my delay." At this, ʿAlī instructed that Saʿd be left alone. ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar was also brought to the mosque, but he delayed in pledging allegiance. ʿAlī asked him for a guarantor, and ʿAbd Allāh replied that he had no guarantor. When Ashtar said, "Let me strike his neck," ʿAlī replied, "Leave him, his guarantor is me." The Anṣār (helpers) then quickly pledged allegiance. However, some important figures among the Anṣār, such as Muḥammad ibn Maslamah, Zayd ibn Thābit, Kaʿb ibn Mālik, the famous poet Hassān ibn Thābit, Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, and Nuʿmān ibn Bashīr, delayed in giving their allegiance. Other individuals who delayed included ʿAbd Allāh ibn Salam, Suhayb ibn Sinān, Usāmah ibn Zayd, Qudāmah ibn Maẓʿūn, and Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah. Notably, Nuʿmān ibn Bashīr had taken ʿUthmān's bloody shirt and the finger that had been severed from his wife, Nāʾilah, and brought them to Muʿāwiyah in Syria.

After the pledge of allegiance, ʿAlī went to visit Nāʾilah and asked her who had killed ʿUthmān. She replied, "Two men whom I do not know entered the house. Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr was with them." ʿAlī summoned Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr and asked him about what Nāʾilah had said. Muḥammad confirmed that Nāʾilah's statement was true, then added, "I went inside with the intention of killing ʿUthmān, but when he mentioned my father, I repented and left his house. By God, I did not kill him." [1112] Nāʾilah said, "What he says is true, but he allowed them to enter."

ʿAlī went to his house. Some of his companions, including Talḥah, Zubayr, and others, came to him and said, "When we gave you our allegiance, we made it a condition that you implement God's law regarding punishment. This group is a partner in the killing of ʿUthmān. You must carry out the legal penalties against them." ʿAlī replied, "I agree with your view. But we are dealing with a group of people who are in power, not us. Their slaves have mingled with your people, and they can make them do whatever they want. In this situation, it is not possible for me to implement the penalties you desire. The opinions of the people are extremely confused, and there are many neutral individuals, just as it was in the days of ignorance. Be patient. This situation will soon improve, and when it does, we will enforce what is right." After hearing this, the group left.

This situation led to differing opinions. Some believed ʿAlī was right, while others insisted that immediate action be taken. Gossip spread among the people. Three days after the pledge of allegiance, ʿAlī ascended the pulpit and gave counsel to the people. He ordered those who had come to Madīnah from other regions to return to their homes. The supporters of the *fitnah* (civil unrest) refused to listen to him and did not leave Madīnah. ʿAlī went to his house, and Ṭalḥah and Zubayr came to consult him. Ṭalḥah said, "Give me permission to go to Baṣrah, raise an army, and return." Zubayr also said, "I will go to Kūfah and gather soldiers." ʿAlī told them, "Wait a little while. Let us observe how the situation unfolds."

The people were waiting for the killers to be punished, but since the killers were among the rebels, there was no opportunity to enforce the

[1112] When Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr grabbed ʿUthmān by the beard and shook him, ʿUthmān asked, "Would your father have approved if he saw this?" Upon hearing this, Muḥammad desisted.

law. When ʿUthmān was under siege, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās, as the governor of the pilgrimage, had gone to Makkah with the mother of the believers, ʿĀ'ishah. After the pilgrimage, he returned to Madīnah and went to the house of the caliph. There, he saw Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah having a private meeting with ʿAlī. After Mughīrah left, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās asked ʿAlī, "What did this man say to you?" ʿAlī replied, "Yesterday, he came and advised me to dismiss Muʿāwiyah, Ibn ʿĀmir, and the governors appointed by ʿUthmān. He suggested that they remain in their positions but swear allegiance to me, and then, after the people are at peace, I can remove them and appoint new governors. I rejected this proposal. Today, he came and changed his stance, admitting that I was right."

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās said, "Mughīrah gave you good advice yesterday, but today he is scheming. The people in power, like Muʿāwiyah and the other governors, are worldly. If you leave them in their positions, they will not oppose you. If you remove them, the people of Syria and Iraq will rally against you." He added, "I am not sure about Ṭalḥah and Zubayr either. Leave Muʿāwiyah in place and have him swear allegiance to you. Afterward, I will personally make sure he is removed." ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās was sincere and justified in his opinion.

ʿAlī was indeed the rightful caliph, following in the path of the Prophet ﷺ in choosing asceticism and piety. He had always opposed deceit, betrayal, and cunning, preferring openness and transparency, much like ʿUmar, and would never resort to manipulating people or presenting a false image. ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās said to ʿAlī, "You possess bravery and courage, but you lack foresight and precaution." When ʿAlī appointed ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās as the governor of Syria and instructed him to go there, ʿAbd Allāh replied, "Muʿāwiyah is from the Banū Umayyah, a cousin of ʿUthmān. If I go there, not only will he refuse to obey me, but he will either kill me or imprison me. You should first send him a letter, inviting him to swear allegiance to you." Events later confirmed that ʿAbd Allāh's assessment was correct.[1113]

[1113] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 3:31; Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfah,* 180; Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 4:432-442; Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfah,* 180.

Regarding the potential conflict between the mother of the believers and ʿAlī, there are reports related to this situation. The narration of Abū Rāfiʿ:

عنْ أَبِي رَافِعٍ، أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ لِعَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ: «إِنَّهُ سَيَكُونُ بَيْنَكَ وَبَيْنَ عَائِشَةَ أَمْرٌ. قَالَ: أَنَا يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ؟ قَالَ:نَعَمْ . قَالَ: أَنَا ؟ قَالَ: نَعَمْ . قَالَ: فَأَنَا أَشْقَاهُمْ يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ ؟ قَالَ: لَا، وَلَكِنْ إِذَا كَانَ ذَلِكَ فَارْدُدْهَا إِلَى مَأْمَنِهَا .»

Abū Rāfiʿ narrated: The Messenger of God ﷺ said to ʿAlī, the son of Abū Ṭālib, "A situation will arise between you and ʿĀ'ishah." ʿAlī asked, "Me, O, Messenger of God?" The Messenger of God ﷺ replied, "Yes." ʿAlī asked twice, "Me?" The Messenger of God ﷺ affirmed, "Yes." ʿAlī then said, "O, Messenger of God, so am I the most wicked among the companions?" The Messenger of God ﷺ responded, "No, you are not wicked. When this situation arises, take her to a safe place." [1114]

The Mother of the Believers, the departure of Ṭalḥah and Zubayr to Baṣrah:

أَبُو مَرْيَمَ عَبْدُ اللهِ بْنُ زِيَادٍ الأَسَدِيُّ قَالَ: لَمَّا سَارَ طَلْحَةُ وَالزُّبَيْرُ وَعَائِشَةُ إِلَى الْبَصْرَةِ، بَعَثَ عَلِيٌّ عَمَّارَ بْنَ يَاسِرٍ وَحَسَنَ بْنَ عَلِيٍّ فَقَدِمَا عَلَيْنَا الْكُوفَةَ، فَصَعِدَا الْمِنْبَرَ. فَكَانَ الْحَسَنُ بْنُ عَلِيٍّ فَوْقَ الْمِنْبَرِ فِي أَعْلاَهُ، وَقَامَ عَمَّارٌ أَسْفَلَ مِنَ الْحَسَنِ. فَاجْتَمَعْنَا إِلَيْهِ. فَسَمِعْتُ عَمَّارًا يَقُولُ: إِنَّ عَائِشَةَ قَدْ سَارَتْ إِلَى الْبَصْرَةِ. وَ وَاللَّهِ إِنَّهَا لَزَوْجَةُ نَبِيِّكُمْ صلى الله عليه وسلم فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالآخِرَةِ. وَلَكِنَّ اللَّهَ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى ابْتَلاَكُمْ، لِيَعْلَمَ إِيَّاهُ تُطِيعُونَ، أَمْ هِيَ. »

Abū Maryam, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ziyād al-Asadī said: When Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, and the Mother of the Believers, Aisha, went to Baṣrah, ʿAlī sent Ammar ibn Yasir and his son Ḥasan to Kūfah. Both of them ascended the pulpit. Ḥasan was above, and Ammar was below. We gathered. I

[1114] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 45:175 #27198; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 1:429 #988; Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, 14:267 #5612, 5613; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 9:326 #3881.

heard Ammar say: "The Mother of the Believers, ʿĀ'ishah, went to Baṣrah. I swear by God, in this world and the Hereafter, she is the wife of your Prophet. God, Blessed and Exalted, has tested you. Will you obey God, or will you obey her?"[1115]

Some narrations about Zubayr: ʿUmar's admonition to Zubayr and his hindrance from going to battle:

عَنْ قَيْسِ بْنِ أَبِي حَازِمٍ قَالَ: جَاءَ الزُّبَيْرُ إِلَى عُمَرَ بْنِ الْخَطَّابِ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ يَسْتَأْذِنُهُ فِي الْغَزْوِ. فَقَالَ عُمَرُ: اجْلِسْ فِي بَيْتِكَ فَقَدْ غَزَوْتَ مَعَ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. قَالَ: فَرَدَّدَ ذَلِكَ عَلَيْهِ. فَقَالَ لَهُ عُمَرُ فِي الثَّالِثَةِ أَوِ الَّتِي تَلِيهَا: اقْعُدْ فِي بَيْتِكَ، فَوَاللَّهِ إِنِّي لَأَجِدُ بِطَرَفِ الْمَدِينَةِ مِنْكَ وَمِنْ أَصْحَابِكَ أَنْ تَخْرُجُوا، فَتُفْسِدُوا عَلَى أَصْحَابِ مُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ.

Qays ibn Abī Ḥāzim narrated, saying: Zubayr came to ʿUmar ibn al-Khattab and asked for permission to go to battle. ʿUmar said: "Stay at home, you fought alongside the Messenger of God ﷺ many times." He repeated this several times. On the third or last occasion, ʿUmar said to him: "Stay at home. By God, I find that if you and your companions from the Companions of Muḥammad ﷺ go out, you will corrupt the people of Madīnah." Al-Dhahabī, agreeing with Ḥākim, said that this narration is authentic. [1116]

Narrations regarding the dispute between Zubayr and ʿAlī, in which Zubayr was wrong and ʿAlī was right: The narration of Qatādah:

عَنْ قَتَادَةَ قَالَ: لَمَّا وَلَّى الزُّبَيْرُ يَوْمَ الْجَمَلِ، بَلَغَ عَلِيًّا فَقَالَ: لَوْ كَانَ ابْنُ صَفِيَّةَ يَعْلَمُ أَنَّهُ عَلَى حَقٍّ مَا وَلَّى. قَالَ: وَذَلِكَ أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ لَقِيَهُمَا فِي سَقِيفَةِ بَنِي سَاعِدَةَ فَقَالَ: «أَتُحِبُّهُ يَا زُبَيْرُ؟» فَقَالَ: وَمَا يَمْنَعُنِي، فَقَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: «فَكَيْفَ أَنْتَ إِذَا قَاتَلْتَهُ وَأَنْتَ ظَالِمٌ لَهُ؟» قَالَ: فَيَرَوْنَ أَنَّهُ إِنَّمَا وَلَّى لِذَلِكَ.

[1115] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 9:70 #7100, 7101.

[1116] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:119 #4612.

Qatādah said: When ʿAlī heard that Zubayr had left the battlefield during the Battle of Camel, he said: "If the son of Ṣafīyah had known he was right, he would not have left." He continued: "The Messenger of God ﷺ saw both of us together in the palm garden of Banū Sāʿidah, and he asked: 'O, Zubayr, do you love ʿAlī?' Zubayr replied: 'What could prevent me from loving him?' The Messenger of God ﷺ then said: 'How will it be when you fight him, even though you are unjust?' For this reason, they saw that Zubayr refrained from fighting and left." [1117]

The narration of Abū Jarwah al-Māzinī:

عَنْ أَبِي جَرْوَةَ الْمَازِنِيِّ قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ عَلِيًّا وَالزُّبَيْرَ، وَعَلِيٌّ يَقُولُ لَهُ: أَنْشَدْتُكَ بِاللَّهِ يَا زُبَيْرُ، أَمَا سَمِعْتَ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ: « إِنَّكَ تُقَاتِلُنِي وَأَنْتَ ظَالِمٌ لِي؟ قَالَ: بَلَى، وَلَكِنِّي نَسِيتُ. »

Abū Jarwah al-Māzinī said: I heard ʿAlī and Zubayr speaking to each other. ʿAlī was saying to Zubayr: "O, Zubayr, for the sake of God, did you not hear the Messenger of God ﷺ say: 'Even though you are unjust, you will fight me (i.e., 'Alī)'?" Zubayr replied: "You are right, but I forgot that." [1118]

The narration of Ismāʿīl ibn Abī Ḥāzim:

إِسْمَاعِيلُ بْنُ أَبِي حَازِمٍ قَالَ: قَالَ عَلِيٌّ لِلزُّبَيْرِ: أَمَا تَذْكُرُ يَوْمَ كُنْتُ أَنَا وَأَنْتَ فِي سَقِيفَةِ قَوْمٍ مِنَ الأَنْصَارِ، فَقَالَ لَكَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: « أَتُحِبُّهُ ؟» فَقُلْتُ: وَمَا يَمْنَعُنِي؟ قَالَ: « أَمَا إِنَّكَ سَتَخْرُجُ عَلَيْهِ، وَتُقَاتِلُهُ وَأَنْتَ ظَالِمٌ. » قَالَ: فَرَجَعَ الزُّبَيْرُ. »

Ismāʿīl ibn Abī Ḥāzim said: ʿAlī said to Zubayr: "Do you not remember when you and I were in the date palm grove of some of the Anṣār, and the Messenger of God ﷺ asked you: 'Do you love ʿAlī?' You replied: 'What could prevent me from loving him?' He then said: 'You will rebel

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[1117] Maʿmar ibn Rāshid, *al-Ǧāmiʿ*, 3:223 #1044; ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, 11:241 #20430; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 15:282 #38982, 38983.

[1118] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:366 #5576, 5577; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Mawṣilī, *al-Musnad*, 1:320 #666.

against him, and even though you are unjust, you will fight him'." After this, Zubayr refrained from fighting.[1119]

The narration of Abū Ḥarb, the son of Abū al-Aswad al-Dīlī:

عَنْ أَبِي حَرْبِ بْنِ أَبِي الأَسْوَدِ الدِّيلِيِّ قَالَ: شَهِدْتُ عَلِيًّا وَالزُّبَيْرَ. لَمَّا رَجَعَ الزُّبَيْرُ عَلَى دَابَّتِهِ يَشُقُّ الصُّفُوفَ. ، فَعَرَضَ لَهُ ابْنُهُ عَبْدُ اللهِ فَقَالَ: مَا لَكَ؟ فَقَالَ: ذَكَرَ لِي عَلِيٌّ حَدِيثًا سَمِعْتُهُ مِنْ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ: لَتُقَاتِلَنَّهُ وَأَنْتَ ظَالِمٌ لَهُ، فَلاَ أُقَاتِلُهُ. قَالَ: وَلِلْقِتَالِ جِئْتَ ؟ إِنَّمَا جِئْتَ لِتُصْلِحَ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ، وَيُصْلِحُ اللَّهُ هَذَا الأَمْرَ بِكَ. قَالَ: قَدْ حَلَفْتُ أَنْ لاَ أُقَاتِلَ. قَالَ: فَأَعْتِقْ غُلاَمَكَ جِرْجِسَ، وَقِفْ حَتَّى تُصْلِحَ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ. قَالَ: فَأَعْتَقَ غُلاَمَهُ جِرْجِسَ ، وَوَقَفَ. فَاخْتَلَفَ أَمْرُ النَّاسِ، فَذَهَبَ عَلَى فَرَسِهِ.

Abū Ḥarb ibn Abī al-Aswad al-Dīlī said: I witnessed the conversation between ʿAlī and Zubayr. When Zubayr broke through the lines and left the battlefield, his son ʿAbd Allāh intercepted him and said, "What's happening to you? Why are you leaving?" Zubayr replied: " ʿAlī reminded me of a ḥadīth I heard from the Messenger of God ﷺ. The Messenger of God ﷺ had said to me: 'You will fight ʿAlī while you are unjust.' I will not fight him." ʿAbd Allāh asked: "Did you come to fight? You came only to reconcile people. God will reconcile them through you." Zubayr said: "I swear not to fight." ʿAbd Allāh said: "As an expiation for your oath, free your slave, Jurjīs." He added: "Stay until you reconcile the people." Zubayr freed his slave Jurjīs and stayed; he did not go. Discord spread among the people. Zubayr mounted his horse and left. [1120]

The narration of Muṭarrif ibn ʿAbd Allāh:

عَنْ مُطَرِّفٍ قَالَ: قُلْنَا لِلزُّبَيْرِ: يَا أَبَا عَبْدِ اللهِ، مَا جَاءَ بِكُمْ ضَيَّعْتُمُ الْخَلِيفَةَ حَتَّى قُتِلَ، ثُمَّ جِئْتُمْ تَطْلُبُونَ بِدَمِهِ؟ فَقَالَ الزُّبَيْرُ: « إِنَّا قَرَأْنَاهَا عَلَى عَهْدِ رَسُولِ اللهِ

[1119] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:366 #5573, 5574.

[1120] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:366 #5575; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubūwah*, 6:414.

صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، وَأَبِي بَكْرٍ، وَعُمَرَ، وَعُثْمَانَ: ﴿ وَاتَّقُوا فِتْنَةً لَا تُصِيبَنَّ الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا مِنْكُم خَاصَّةً ﴾ لَمْ نَكُنْ نَحْسَبُ أَنَّا أَهْلُهَا، حَتَّى وَقَعَتْ مِنَّا حَيْثُ وَقَعَتْ. »

Muṭarrif ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Shikhkhīr said: I asked Zubayr: "O, father of ʿAbd Allāh, what brought you here? You lost the caliph (ʿUthmān), and eventually, he was killed. Now, you come to demand his blood." Zubayr replied: "During the time of the Messenger of God ﷺ, Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān, we used to recite the verse: 'Beware of a trial which will not only strike the wrongdoers among you'[1121] Until these events occurred, we did not think that we would be the ones to bear the responsibility for this trial. What has happened, has happened."[1122]

A narration regarding Zubayr's son ʿAbd Allāh: The narration of ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr regarding the blood of the Prophet ﷺ:

الْهِنْدُ بْنُ الْقَاسِمِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ مَاعِزٍ قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ عَامِرَ بْنَ عَبْدِ اللهِ بْنِ الزُّبَيْرِ يُحَدِّثُ. أَنَّ أَبَاهُ حَدَّثَهُ. «أَنَّهُ أَتَى النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَهُوَ يَحْتَجِمُ. فَلَمَّا فَرَغَ قَالَ: يَا عَبْدَ اللهِ، اذْهَبْ بِهَذَا الدَّمِ فَأَهْرِقْهُ حَيْثُ لاَ يَرَاكَ أَحَدٌ. فَلَمَّا بَرَزْتُ عَنْ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَمَدْتُ إِلَى الدَّمِ فَحَسَوْتُهُ. فَلَمَّا رَجَعْتُ إِلَى النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: مَا صَنَعْتَ يَا عَبْدَ اللهِ؟ قَالَ: جَعَلْتُهُ فِي مَكَانٍ؟ ظَنَنْتُ أَنَّهُ خَافٍ عَلَى النَّاسِ. قَالَ: فَلَعَلَّكَ شَرِبْتَهُ؟ قُلْتُ: نَعَمْ. قَالَ: وَمَنْ أَمَرَكَ أَنْ تَشْرَبَ الدَّمَ؟ وَيْلٌ لَكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ، وَوَيْلٌ لِلنَّاسِ مِنْكَ».

Hind ibn al-Qasim ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Māʿiz said: I heard from ʿĀmir ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr. His father ʿAbd Allāh narrated to

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[1121] Q, al-Anfāl, 8:25.

[1122] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 3:31 #1414, 1438; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 3:190 #976; Ḍiyāʾ al-Maqdisī Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, *al-Mukhtārah*, 1:442 #872; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 6:351 #11206, 10:109 #11142; Nuʿaym ibn Ḥammād, *al-Fitan*, 1:85 #193.

him: While the Messenger of God ﷺ was undergoing cupping, ʿAbd Allāh came to him. After the cupping was finished, the Messenger of God ﷺ said: "O, ʿAbd Allāh, pour this blood in a place where no one can see it." After leaving the presence of the Messenger of God ﷺ, ʿAbd Allāh drank the blood. When he returned to the presence of the Prophet ﷺ, he was asked: "O, ʿAbd Allāh, what did you do?" ʿAbd Allāh replied: "I put it somewhere, I thought you were concerned for the people." The Prophet ﷺ said: "Surely, you drank it?" ʿAbd Allāh replied: "Yes." The Prophet ﷺ said: "Who commanded you to drink that blood?" He then continued: "Woe to you from the people, and woe to the people from you." [1123]

Narrations affirming that ʿAlī was in the right:

عَنْ زَيْدِ بْنِ وَهْبٍ قَالَ: بَيْنَمَا نَحْنُ حَوْلَ حُذَيْفَةَ إِذْ قَالَ: كَيْفَ أَنْتُمْ وَقَدْ خَرَجَ أَهْلُ بَيْتِ نَبِيِّكُمْ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فِي فِئَتَيْنِ يَضْرِبُ بَعْضُكُمْ وُجُوهَ بَعْضٍ بِالسَّيْفِ؟ فَقُلْنَا: يَا أَبَا عَبْدِ اللهِ، وَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ لَكَائِنٌ؟ قَالَ: أَيْ، وَالَّذِي بَعَثَ مُحَمَّدًا صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بِالْحَقِّ. إِنَّ ذَلِكَ لَكَائِنٌ. فَقَالَ بَعْضُ أَصْحَابِهِ: يَا أَبَا عَبْدِ اللهِ، فَكَيْفَ نَصْنَعُ إِنْ أَدْرَكْنَا ذَلِكَ الزَّمَانَ؟ قَالَ: انْظُرُوا الْفِرْقَةَ الَّتِي تَدْعُو إِلَى أَمْرِ عَلِيٍّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ، فَالْزَمُوهَا، فَإِنَّهَا عَلَى الْهُدَى.

Zayd ibn Wahb said: While we were sitting around Ḥudhayfah, he said to us: "When two groups from among you strike each other with swords, and your Prophet's ﷺ Ahl al-Bayt comes out and joins one of the groups, what will you do?" We asked: "O, father of ʿAbd Allāh, will this happen?" Ḥudhayfah replied: "By the One who sent Muḥammad ﷺ as the true Prophet, this will happen." Some of the companions asked: "O, father of ʿAbd Allāh, what should we do when that time comes?" He said: "Look to the group that calls you to be with ʿAlī, join them, for they

[1123] Ḍiyāʾ al-Maqdisī Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, *al-Mukhtārah*, 3:475 #267; ʿAlī ibn ʿUmar al-Dāraquṭnī, *al-Sunan*, 1:425 #882; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, 1:329; Abū Nuʿaym, *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥābah*, 11:468 #3684; Aḥmad ibn ʿAmr Ibn Dāḥik, *al-Āḥād wa-al-mathānī*, 1:538 #578; Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Baghawī, *Muʃam al-ṣaḥābah*, 3:276 #1003; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:638 #6343; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 4:93.

are on the right guidance." [1124] Nūr al-Din al-Haythamī said regarding this ḥadīth: "The narrators in the chain of transmission are trustworthy (reliable)." [1125]

Narration of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's daughter ʿAmrah:

عَنْ عَمْرَةَ بِنْتِ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ قَالَتْ: لَمَّا سَارَ عَلِيٌّ إِلَى الْبَصْرَةِ دَخَلَ عَلَى أُمِّ سَلَمَةَ زَوْجِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يُوَدِّعُهَا. فَقَالَتْ: « سِرْ فِي حِفْظِ اللهِ وَفِي كَنَفِهِ. فَوَاللَّهِ إِنَّكَ لَعَلَى الْحَقِّ، وَالْحَقُّ مَعَكَ. وَلَوْلاَ أَنِّي أَكْرَهُ أَنْ أَعْصَى اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ، فَإِنَّهُ أَمَرَنَا صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَنْ نَقَرَّ فِي بُيُوتِنَا، لَسِرْتُ مَعَكَ. وَلَكِنْ وَاللَّهِ لَأُرْسِلَنَّ مَعَكَ مَنْ هُوَ أَفْضَلُ عِنْدِي، وَأَعَزُّ عَلَيَّ مِنْ نَفْسِي، ابْنِي عُمَرَ. صحيح على شرط الشيخين ولم يخرجاه. ووافقه الذهبي في "تلخيصه". »

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's daughter Amrah narrated, saying: When ʿAlī was on his way to Baṣrah, he went to bid farewell to the wife of the Prophet ﷺ, Umm Salamah. Umm Salamah said: "Go with the protection and care of God. I swear by God, you are on the truth, and the truth is with you. If it were not for the command to remain in our home (as we were ordered), I would have come with you. However, I swear by God, I will send with you someone who is very dear to me, more beloved than my own soul, my son, 'Umar." Ḥākim narrated this ḥadīth, and although it meets the criteria of Bukhārī and Muslim, they did not narrate it. Al-Dhahabī, in his book *Talkhīṣ*, agreed with Ḥākim's judgment that it is authentic. [1126]

The ḥadīth of Abū Dharr's slave, Abū Thābit:

عَنْ أَبِي ثَابِتٍ مَوْلَى أَبِي ذَرٍّ قَالَ: كُنْتُ مَعَ عَلِيٍّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ يَوْمَ الْجَمَلِ. فَلَمَّا رَأَيْتُ عَائِشَةَ وَاقِفَةً دَخَلَنِي بَعْضُ مَا يَدْخُلُ النَّاسَ. فَكَشَفَ اللَّهُ عَنِّي

[1124] Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 7:236 #2810.

[1125] Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Abī Bakr al-Haythamī, *Majmaʿ al-zawāʾid wa-manbaʿ al-fawāʾid*, 7:166 #12032.

[1126] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:119 #4611.

ذَلِكَ عِنْدَ صَلاَةِ الظُّهْرِ. فَقَاتَلْتُ مَعَ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ. فَلَمَّا فَرَغَ ذَهَبْتُ إِلَى الْمَدِينَةِ، فَأَتَيْتُ أُمَّ سَلَمَةَ فَقُلْتُ: إِنِّي وَاللَّهِ مَا جِئْتُ أَسْأَلُ طَعَامًا وَلاَ شَرَابًا وَلَكِنِّي مَوْلًى لأَبِي ذَرٍّ. فَقَالَتْ: مَرْحَبًا. فَقَصَصْتُ عَلَيْهَا قِصَّتِي. فَقَالَتْ: أَيْنَ كُنْتَ حِينَ طَارَتِ الْقُلُوبُ مَطَائِرَهَا؟ قُلْتُ: إِلَى حَيْثُ كَشَفَ اللَّهُ ذَلِكَ عَنِّي عِنْدَ زَوَالِ الشَّمْسِ. قَالَتْ: أَحْسَنْتَ. سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ: « عَلِيٌّ مَعَ الْقُرْآنِ وَالْقُرْآنُ مَعَ عَلِيٍّ، لَنْ يَتَفَرَّقَا حَتَّى يَرِدَا عَلَيَّ الْحَوْضَ » . هَذَا حَدِيثٌ صَحِيحُ الإِسْنَادِ، وَأَبُو سَعِيدٍ التَّيْمِيُّ هُوَ: عُقَيْصَاءُ. ثِقَةٌ مَأْمُونٌ. وَلَمْ يُخَرِّجَاهُ.

Abū Dharr's slave, Abū Thābit, narrated, saying: I was with ʿAlī during the Battle of the Camel. When I saw that ʿĀ'ishah had halted, I too was swept into the confusion of the people. When the time for the noon prayer came, God removed that confusion from me. I fought alongside ʿAlī. After the battle ended, I went to Madīnah and visited Umm Salamah. I told her: "I have not come to eat or drink, I am the slave of Abū Dharr." She said: "Welcome!" I then told her everything that had happened. She asked me: "When the hearts were in turmoil, where were you? (Who were you with?)" I replied: "During the time of the noon prayer, I was where God removed that confusion from me; I was with ʿAlī." She said: "You did well. I heard the Prophet ﷺ say: ʿAlī is with the Qur'ān, and the Qur'ān is with ʿAlī. They will not separate until they come to me at the Pool of Paradise'." Ḥākim said: This is an authentic ḥadīth with a sound chain of narration. Abū Saʿīd al-Taymī's real name was ʿAqīṣā, and he is trustworthy. Bukhārī and Muslim did not narrate this ḥadīth in their collections. [1127]

The narration of Jurīy ibn Kulayb al-ʿĀmirī:

عَنْ جُرِيِّ بْنِ كُلَيْبٍ الْعَامِرِيِّ قَالَ: لَمَّا سَارَ عَلِيٌّ إِلَى صِفِّينَ كَرِهْتُ الْقِتَالَ. فَأَتَيْتُ الْمَدِينَةَ، فَدَخَلْتُ عَلَى مَيْمُونَةَ بِنْتِ الْحَارِثِ. فَقَالَتْ: « مِمَّنْ أَنْتَ؟

[1127] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:124 #4628; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-ṣaghīr*, 2:28 #720.

قُلْتُ: مِنْ أَهْلِ الْكُوفَةِ. قَالَتْ: مِنْ أَيِّهِمْ ؟ قُلْتُ: مِنْ بَنِي عَامِرٍ. قَالَتْ: رُحْبًا عَلَى رُحْبٍ، وَقُرْبًا عَلَى قُرْبٍ تَجِيءُ، مَا جَاءَ بِكَ؟ قَالَ: قُلْتُ: سَارَ عَلِيٌّ إِلَى صِفِّينَ، وَكَرِهْتُ الْقِتَالَ. فَجِئْنَا إِلَى هَا هُنَا. قَالَتْ: أَكُنْتَ بَايَعْتَهُ؟ قَالَ: قُلْتُ: نَعَمْ. قَالَتْ: فَارْجِعْ إِلَيْهِ، فَكُنْ مَعَهُ. فَوَاللَّهِ مَا ضَلَّ، وَلاَ ضَلَّ بِهِ. حَتَّى قَالَتْهَا ثَلاثًا .

Jurīy ibn Kulayb al-ʿĀmirī narrated, saying: When ʿAlī went to Ṣiffīn, I did not want to fight. I went to Madīnah and visited the wife of the Prophet ﷺ, Maymūnah bint Ḥārith. She asked: "Who are you from?" I replied: "I am from the people of Kūfah." She asked again: "From Kūfah, who are you from?" I said: "I am from the clan of the Banū ʿĀmir." She responded: "Greetings, you are close to us. Why have you come?" I replied: " ʿAlī went to Ṣiffīn, but I did not want to fight. That is why I came here." She then asked: "Did you give the pledge of allegiance to him?" I answered: "Yes." They said: "Go back to him and be with him. I swear by God, he did not go astray, and no one who is with him will go astray." She repeated this three times. [1128]

The prayer of the Prophet ﷺ for ʿAlī to be with the truth:

عَنْ عَلِيٍّ قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: «رَحِمَ اللَّهُ أَبَا بَكْرٍ زَوَّجَنِيَ ابْنَتَهُ، وَحَمَلَنِي إِلَى دَارِ الهِجْرَةِ، وَأَعْتَقَ بِلاَلاً مِنْ مَالِهِ. رَحِمَ اللَّهُ عُمَرَ، يَقُولُ الحَقَّ وَإِنْ كَانَ مُرًّا، تَرَكَهُ الحَقُّ وَمَا لَهُ صَدِيقٌ. رَحِمَ اللَّهُ عُثْمَانَ، تَسْتَحْيِيهِ الْمَلاَئِكَةُ. رَحِمَ اللَّهُ عَلِيًّا، اللَّهُمَّ أَدِرِ الحَقَّ مَعَهُ حَيْثُ دَارَ .»

ʿAlī said: The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "May God have mercy on Abū Bakr. He gave his daughter in marriage to me. He brought me to the house of migration (Madīnah). He purchased Bilāl from his own wealth and freed him. May God have mercy on ʿUmar. Even though it is difficult, he speaks the truth. Truth abandoned him, and he has no friend. May God have mercy on ʿUthmān, the angels feel shy before

[1128] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:141 #4680; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 12:81 #32786; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 17:258 #19511.

him. May God have mercy on ʿAlī. O, God, wherever he turns, let truth turn with him." [1129]

The narrations regarding ʿAmmār being killed by the unjust group:

عَنْ عِكْرِمَةَ: أَنَّ ابْنَ عَبَّاسٍ قَالَ لَهُ، وَلِعَلِيِّ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللهِ: ائْتِيَا أَبَا سَعِيدٍ فَاسْمَعَا مِنْ حَدِيثِهِ. فَأَتَيْنَاهُ، وَهُوَ وَأَخُوهُ فِي حَائِطٍ لَهُمَا يَسْقِيَانِهِ. فَلَمَّا رَآنَا جَاءَ فَاحْتَبَى وَجَلَسَ فَقَالَ: كُنَّا نَنْقُلُ لَبِنَ الْمَسْجِدِ لَبِنَةً لَبِنَةً. وَكَانَ عَمَّارٌ يَنْقُلُ لَبِنَتَيْنِ لَبِنَتَيْنِ. فَمَرَّ بِهِ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم وَمَسَحَ عَنْ رَأْسِهِ الْغُبَارَ وَقَالَ: وَيْحَ عَمَّارٍ، تَقْتُلُهُ الْفِئَةُ الْبَاغِيَةُ. عَمَّارٌ يَدْعُوهُمْ إِلَى اللهِ، وَيَدْعُونَهُ إِلَى النَّارِ.

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās's slave, ʿIkrimah, said: ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās said to me and his son ʿAlī: "Go to Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī and hear a narration from him." We went to Abū Saʿīd, who was with his brother watering the garden. When he saw us, he came and sat down, saying: "We were carrying the bricks of the mosque one by one. ʿAmmār was carrying them two at a time. When the Prophet ﷺ passed by him, he wiped the dust from his head and said: 'Poor ʿAmmār! The unjust group will kill him. ʿAmmār calls them to God, but they call him to the Fire (Hell)'." [1130]

Narration of ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Hārith:

عَنْ عَبْدِ اللهِ بْنِ الْحَارِثِ قَالَ: « إِنِّي لأَسِيرُ مَعَ مُعَاوِيَةَ فِي مُنْصَرَفِهِ مِنْ صِفِّينَ، بَيْنَهُ وَبَيْنَ عَمْرِو بْنِ الْعَاصِ. قَالَ: فَقَالَ عَبْدُ اللهِ بْنُ عَمْرِو بْنِ الْعَاصِ: يَا أَبَتِ، مَا سَمِعْتَ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ لِعَمَّارٍ: وَيْحَكَ يَا ابْنَ سُمَيَّةَ تَقْتُلُكَ الْفِئَةُ الْبَاغِيَةُ ؟ قَالَ: فَقَالَ عَمْرٌو لِمُعَاوِيَةَ: أَلاَ تَسْمَعُ مَا يَقُولُ

[1129] Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 6:75 #3714; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 3:51 #806; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-awsaṭ*, 6:95 #5906; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:134 #4629.

[1130] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 1:121 #447, 4:25 #2812; Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 8:185 #7504.

هَذَا ؟ فَقَالَ مُعَاوِيَةُ: لاَ تَزَالُ تَأْتِينَا بِهَنَةٍ، أَنَحْنُ قَتَلْنَاهُ؟ إِنَّمَا قَتَلَهُ الَّذِينَ جَاؤُوا بِهِ. »

ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥārith narrated: He said, "I was with Muʿāwiyah on the way back from Ṣiffīn, and I was between him and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ. The son of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, ʿAbd Allāh, said to his father: 'O, father, did you not hear what the Messenger of God ﷺ said to ʿAmmār: 'O, son of Sumayyah, poor you! The unjust group will kill you'?" ʿAmr said to Muʿāwiyah : "Did you not hear what he said?" Muʿāwiyah replied: "You are still coming to us with big matters. Did we kill him? It was those who brought him to us who killed him." [1131] This ḥadīth has been narrated by many Companions in many books.[1132]

Ḥumūd ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭuwayrijī, when narrating this ḥadīth in his book about *fitnah*s, writes: "Muʿāwiyah's statement: 'Those who brought him to us killed him' is not a sound statement. If what Muʿāwiyah said were correct, then the Prophet ﷺ and his Companions would have been responsible for the deaths of those who were martyred at Uḥud and in other battles. This is clearly a false view. The reason Muʿāwiyah said this was because his soldiers had dispersed and abandoned him, and he feared they might go to ʿAlī. And God knows best." [1133]

In the 36th year of the hijrah, the appointment of governors and leaders: At the beginning of this year, ʿAlī appointed governors to the provinces and sent them out. He appointed Qays ibn Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah to Egypt, Sahl ibn Ḥunayf al-Anṣārī to Syria, ʿUmārah ibn Shihāb to Kūfah, ʿUthmān ibn Ḥunayf al-Anṣārī to Baṣrah, ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās to Yemen, Jaʿdah ibn Ḥubayrah al-Makhzūmī to the province of Khurāsān, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the freed slave of Budayl ibn Warqāʾ, to Māhān. When Qays ibn Saʿd arrived in Egypt, a faction of the people

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[1131] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 2:161 #6499.

[1132] The Companions who transmitted the report include: Umm Salamah, Qatādah ibn al-Nuʿmān, Abū Hurayrah, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān, Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān, Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, Abū Rāfiʿ, Khuzaymah ibn Thābit, Muʿāwiyah, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, Abū al-Yusr, and ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir. The ḥadīth transmitters include: al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī, al-Nasāʾī, Abū Yaʿlá, al-Bayhaqī, al-Ḥākim, and Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī.

[1133] Ḥamūd ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Tuwayjirī, *Ithāf al-jamāʿah bimā jāʾa fī al-fitan wa-al-malāḥim wa-ashrāṭ al-sāʿah*, 1:189.

of Egypt accepted his authority. Sahl ibn Ḥunayf set out for Syria, and when he reached a place called Balqā', a detachment of cavalry stopped him and asked who he was. When he replied that he was the appointed emir for Syria, they said, "If you were sent by ʿUthmān, we will accept you; if anyone else sent you, return, we will not accept you." Sahl returned to Madīnah and reported the situation to ʿAlī. The people of Kūfah expressed their satisfaction with their emir, Abū Mūsá al-Ashʿarī, and stated that they would not accept his replacement. Ṭalḥah ibn Khuwaylid, due to the killing of ʿUthmān, did not allow ʿUmārah to enter Kūfah. Before entering, ʿUmārah returned and reported the situation to ʿAlī. When ʿUthmān ibn Ḥunayf arrived in Baṣrah, part of the people accepted his authority, but another group said, "Let's wait and see what the people of Madīnah do, and we will follow them." The former governor of Baṣrah, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir, left Baṣrah and went to Makkah. When ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās arrived in Yemen, the people of Yemen accepted his authority.

The refusal to accept some of the appointed governors caused confusion and led to division and discord among the people. The former governor of Yemen, Yaʿlá ibn Umayyah (some say Yaʿlá ibn Munyah), took his belongings and went to Makkah. [1134] After receiving this news, ʿAlī sent letters: one to Maʿbad al-Aslamī, and another to Abū Mūsá al-Ashʿarī, and a third to Sabrah al-Juhanī, directing them to send messages to Muʿāwiyah .

Abū Mūsá reported that the people of Kūfah had given their allegiance and pledged loyalty, and he informed ʿAlī by letter. Despite sending numerous letters to Muʿāwiyah, ʿAlī never received a response. He sent Sabrah to him, but Muʿāwiyah delayed and kept him occupied without providing any clear answer. Three months after the murder of ʿUthmān, Muʿāwiyah gave a sealed letter to Qabīṣah ibn ʿAbbās from the ʿAbs tribe, instructing him to take it and Sabrah to Madīnah.

The letter's heading simply read, "From Muʿāwiyah to ʿAlī," with no further writing inside. When ʿAlī opened the letter and saw it was empty, he asked Qabīṣah, "What is this?" Qabīṣah asked, "Are you sure [you want to know]?" to which ʿAlī replied, "Yes, I am sure." Qabīṣah then said, "I left behind a people in Syria who would not accept

[1134] Yaʿlá ibn Umayyah is in some sources referred to as Yaʿlá ibn Munyah. His father's name is Umayyah, and he is ascribed to Munyah because it is the name of either his mother or paternal grandmother.

anything but retaliation for the blood of ʿUthmān." ʿAlī asked, "From whom are they seeking retaliation?" Qabīṣah replied, "From you." He continued, "Seventy thousand elderly men are gathered on the pulpit of the Great Mosque of Syria, crying under the bloody shirt of ʿUthmān." ʿAlī responded, "O, God, You know that since the murder of ʿUthmān, I have been in this situation," and he allowed Qabīṣah to return to Syria. Given the situation, it became clear that there was no way forward except through war. Ṭalḥah and Zubayr, realizing that a great division would arise among the Muslims, sought permission from ʿAlī to visit the House of God (the Kaʿbah) in Makkah and left for Makkah.

ʿAlī was forced to go to war: ʿAlī began preparing for war. He encouraged the people of Madīnah to participate in the campaign. He left Madīnah and began organizing his army. He appointed Tammām ibn ʿAbbās as the temporary governor of Madīnah and Qusām ibn ʿAbbās as the governor of Makkah. He entrusted the standard to his son Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah. He appointed ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās to command the right wing of the army, and ʿUmar ibn Abī Salamah to command the left wing. He appointed Abū Laylá, the nephew of Abū ʿUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ, to lead the vanguard. He did not assign any of the men who had participated in the attack on ʿUthmān to any position in this army.

He sent letters to Qays ibn Saʿd, the governor of Egypt; ʿUthmān ibn Ḥunayf, the governor of Baṣrah; and Abū Mūsá al-Ashʿarī, the governor of Kūfah, ordering them to join him for the campaign to Syria. However, upon hearing of the situation with those opposing him, ʿAlī abandoned his plans to march toward Syria and decided to march against the group that had risen up against him. ʿAlī called ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar and asked him to accompany him. However, ʿAbd Allāh responded, "I am from the people of Madīnah, and I have pledged allegiance to them. If they leave, I will also leave," and after this conversation, he set out for Makkah. When ʿAbd Allāh arrived in Makkah, he was asked to join the army of the Mother of the Believers, ʿĀ'ishah, but he replied, "I am from the people of Madīnah, and I will stay with them," and did not join the group that had risen up. The wives of the Prophet who had gone for the pilgrimage left ʿĀ'ishah and returned to Madīnah. However, Ḥafṣah, who wanted to go with ʿĀ'ishah to Baṣrah, was prevented by her brother ʿAbd Allāh. Seeing this

situation, Ḥasan, ʿAlī's son, tried to persuade his father to desist from this course of action, but was unable to convince him.

The journey of the Mother of the Believers, ʿĀ'ishah, and those with her to Baṣrah: The Mother of the Believers, ʿĀ'ishah, was one of the most vocal critics of ʿUthmān's policies. She even went so far as to remove the clothing and hair of the Prophet ﷺ and say, "His clothing and hair have not worn out, but his law has." In this way, she criticized ʿUthmān's actions and behavior. After performing the pilgrimage, ʿĀ'ishah left Makkah, intending to return to Madīnah. Upon hearing of ʿUthmān's assassination and the election of [ʿAlī as the] new caliph, she was greatly saddened. She immediately turned back and encouraged the people to seek justice for the blood of ʿUthmān.

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir al-Ḥaḍramī, the governor of Makkah appointed by ʿUthmān, was one of the first to respond to this call. After ʿUthmān's martyrdom, Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣī, Walīd ibn ʿUqbah, and some members of the Umayyad clan came to Makkah and joined this call. Thus, a group emerged in Makkah that demanded justice for the blood of ʿUthmān and opposed ʿAlī. This group continued to grow and gain strength, and *fitnah* spread, causing great turmoil. ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir, the governor of Baṣrah appointed by ʿUthmān, brought vast amounts of wealth from Baṣrah to Makkah. Yaʿlá ibn Umayyah, the governor of Yemen, also brought six hundred camels and six hundred thousand dirhams, which he distributed to the oppositional group in Makkah. Ṭalḥah and Zubayr, on their way to perform ʿ*umrah* [lesser pilgrimage], asked ʿAlī for permission and arrived in Makkah. After arriving, they met with ʿĀ'ishah and joined the oppositional group demanding justice for ʿUthmān's blood. Thus, the group led by the Mother of the Believers, ʿĀ'ishah, grew stronger with each passing day.

Yaʿlá ibn Umayyah presented the eighty camels he had acquired, including a male camel, to the Mother of the Believers, ʿĀ'ishah. When she mounted this camel, the rebels who rose up alongside Ṭalḥah and Zubayr were called '*aṣḥāb al-jamal*' (the People of the Camel), and the ensuing conflict became known as the "Battle of the Camel," since ʿĀ'ishah riding the camel became the rallying symbol of the battle [by the forces who gathered against ʿAlī].

Initially, ʿĀ'ishah suggested marching towards Madīnah, but the people of Madīnah had already pledged allegiance to ʿAlī. They said, "We cannot defeat them," and this proposal was rejected. Some then

suggested heading towards Syria. ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir, the former governor of Baṣrah, proposed another course of action: "Muʿāwiyah is sufficient to handle the situation in Syria. Let us go to Baṣrah. I have many supporters there, and the people of Baṣrah lean towards Ṭalḥah, while the people of Kūfah are inclined towards Zubayr. Just as we roused the people of Makkah, we can also stir up the people of Baṣrah." This proposal was accepted. ʿUthmān's sons, Abān and Walīd, along with three thousand supporters, left Makkah and made their way as far as the area of Dhāt al- ʿIrq, the designated meeting point for the people of Iraq.

When the rebels reached the place called Haw'ab, a water source, and heard the barking of dogs, ʿĀ'ishah asked, "What water is this?" The guide replied, "This is the water of Haw'ab." Upon hearing this, ʿĀ'ishah cried and said, "Indeed, we belong to God, and to Him we return." She then declared, "I am returning from here." Qays ibn Abī Ḥāzim narrated that when the Mother of the Believers, ʿĀ'ishah, arrived at the water of the ʿĀmir clan, she heard the barking of dogs and asked, "What water is this?" They replied, "This is the water of Haw'ab." At this, ʿĀ'ishah said, "Surely, I will return from here," for the Prophet ﷺ had once told his wives, "If any of you hears the dogs of Haw'ab barking, what will her state be?" According to another narration, the Prophet ﷺ had said, "Which one of you will hear the dogs of Haw'ab barking?" [1135]

The other narration of the ḥadīth is as follows: ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās narrated: The Messenger of God ﷺ said to his wives: "Who is the owner of the *idbīb* camel? The dogs of Haw'ab will come out and bark at her. Many people will be killed on her right and left. She will

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[1135] Nuʿaym ibn Ḥammād, *al-Fitan*, 1:83 #188; Isḥāq ibn Rāhawayh, *al-Musnad*, 3:891 #1569; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 40:298 #24254, 41:197 #24654; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 15:259; Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, 2:403; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 11:73 #4777; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, #4868; Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:126 #6732; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:129 #4613; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-awsaṭ*, 6:233 #6276; Ḍiyā' al-Maqdisī Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, *al-Aḥādīth al-mukhtārah*, 12:160 #179; Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubūwah*, 6:410-411.

nearly be killed, but will survive."[1136] The term *idbīb* refers to a camel with a very furry face.[1137] The Mother of the Believers, ʿĀ'ishah, said: "So it seems I am the owner of the Haw'ab water," and she made her camel kneel. The people also dismounted and stayed there for a day and night. ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr lied to ʿĀ'ishah, telling her that this was not the Haw'ab water. Those with her suggested: "Let us go so the Muslims can see you. Perhaps God will grant peace." Zubayr said: "Are you intending to return? It is hoped that God will reconcile people through you." Despite ʿĀ'ishah's insistence on returning, there was a panic when news came that ʿAlī's forces were approaching. They immediately began heading toward Baṣrah.[1138]

The narration on this matter is as follows: Qays ibn Abī Ḥāzim narrated that when ʿĀ'ishah stopped at the water of Haw'ab, she heard the barking of dogs and said: "I suppose I will turn back from here." The Prophet ﷺ had once said to us (his wives): "Which of you will hear the barking of the dogs of Haw'ab?" At this, Zubayr said to her: "Are you turning back? Do not, for it is hoped that God will reconcile people through you."[1139] When the People of the Camel approached Baṣrah, there were negotiations between them and the governor of Baṣrah, ʿUthmān ibn Ḥunayf, along with the prominent figures of Baṣrah. Due to tensions, a battle broke out. Many, including the leader of the tribe of Abū al-Qays, Ḥukaym ibn Jabalah, were killed. After these events, the People of the Camel entered Baṣrah and gained control. The governor, ʿUthmān ibn Ḥunayf, barely escaped with his life, having had his hair, beard, and eyebrows plucked, and he waited for the arrival of ʿAlī.

ʿAlī's journey to Baṣrah: While ʿAlī was preparing for a military campaign against Syria, he abandoned that plan upon receiving news

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[1136] Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, 14:265 #5611; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 15:264 #38940; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 11:73 #4777; Isḥāq ibn Rāhawayh, *al-Musnad*, 2:32.

[1137] Muḥammad ibn Mukarram ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, 1:369; Ibn al-Athīr al-Mubārak ibn Muḥammad al-Jazarī, *al-Nihāyah fī gharīb al-ḥadīth*, 2:96; Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, 106; Murtaḍá al-Zabīdī Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, 2:395.

[1138] Ibn al-Athīr ʿAlī ibn Abī al-Karam Muḥammad al-Jazarī, *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, 2:30; Muḥammad Saʿīd Abū Ḥālikah, *al-Wajīz al-mufīd fī tabyān asbāb qatli ʿUthmān Ibn ʿAffān*, 46; Abū al-Fidā' Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAlī, *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, 1:266.

[1139] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 41:197 #24654.

from Makkah. Upon hearing about the events unfolding in Baṣrah and its surroundings, he was compelled to head there. ʿAlī had appointed ʿUthmān ibn Ḥunayf, from the Anṣār, as the governor of Kūfah. He had also appointed his companion, a member of the Badr expedition, Sahl ibn Ḥunayf, as the deputy governor of Madīnah. Sahl ibn Ḥunayf left Madīnah in the month of Rabīʿ al-Ākhir in the 36th year of the hijrah, heading toward the village of Rabadhah. Around 900 Kūfans and Baṣrans, who were in Madīnah at the time, also joined his army. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Salām and his eldest son, Ḥasan, tried to persuade ʿAlī to abandon this campaign, but they were unsuccessful.

After leaving Rabadhah, ʿAlī's army was organized as follows: His son, Ḥasan, was the commander of the right wing; his son, Ḥusayn, commanded the left wing; the standard bearer was his son, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah; the cavalry was commanded by ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir; and the infantry was commanded by Muḥammad, the son of Abū Bakr. The commander of the vanguard was ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās. His army consisted of around 4,000 soldiers, 800 of whom were from the Anṣār, and 400 were from those who pledged allegiance under the Tree of Ridwān. Many companions who had participated in the Battle of Badr were among them. While still in Rabadhah, ʿAlī learned that Abū Mūsá al-Ashʿarī, whom ʿUthmān had appointed as the governor of Kūfah, was neutral and had allied with the people of Kūfah. ʿAlī first sent Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr and Muḥammad ibn Jaʿfar to speak with him, but they were unsuccessful in convincing him. He then sent ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās and Ashtar, but they also failed. Meanwhile, ʿAlī arrived at a place called Dhī Qār, where he sent his son Ḥasan and ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir to Abū Mūsá a third time. Zayd ibn Sawhān came to the mosque and entered into a verbal duel with Abū Mūsá, convincing the people to align with ʿAlī. Ḥasan and ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir left Kūfah with 9,000 soldiers to join ʿAlī's forces.

Interestingly, despite refusing to pledge allegiance to ʿAlī and insisting that the people of Kūfah remain neutral, Abū Mūsá al-Ashʿarī would later act as an arbitrator, ultimately deposing ʿAlī from the caliphate. Abū Mūsá had initially intended to avoid involvement in the *fitnah* (discord), but the *fitnah* had already broken out. Remaining uninvolved would only serve the interests of those who initiated the discord. As Zayd ibn Sawhān had said, "It was no longer possible to reverse the course of the Euphrates River." The tribes of Bakr ibn Wā'il

and Abū al-Qays also joined ʿAlī's army. Through the persuasion of Aḥnaf ibn Qays, the tribes of Tamīm and Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ also pledged allegiance to ʿAlī. Thus, the caliph's army grew substantially in strength.

THE BATTLE OF THE CAMEL

The *aṣḥāb al-jamal* (People of the Camel) departed from Baṣrah and set out to engage in battle with ʿAlī. When they encountered one another, Ṭalḥah and Zubayr stepped forward. ʿAlī approached them and said: "You have prepared to fight me; have you prepared an excuse and justification for this battle before God?" Affected by these words, Ṭalḥah and Zubayr remembered a ḥadīth which the Messenger of God ﷺ had previously pronounced concerning this matter. Accordingly, both of them withdrew from the front. However, after Ṭalḥah withdrew, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam shot him with an arrow and wounded him. Ṭalḥah bled to death from that arrow wound. Zubayr, similarly affected by the aforementioned ḥadīth, also withdrew from the battlefield. As he distanced himself from the camp, a man named ʿAmr ibn Jarmūz shot an arrow at him and killed him. Believing he would be praised, he severed Zubayr's head and brought it to ʿAlī. But ʿAlī became furious with him, cursed him, and drove him away. Zubayr was the son of his paternal aunt.

The battle grew intense, and the forces of ʿAlī emerged victorious. The fiercest fighting took place around the camel of ʿĀ'ishah [who was the rallying symbol for the battle]. One of the soldiers struck the legs of ʿĀ'ishah's camel from behind, causing it to fall. Seeing this, the warriors surrounding ʿĀ'ishah [to protect her] dispersed and fled. ʿAlī gave the command: "Do not pursue those who flee." He instructed Muḥammad, the brother of the Mother of the Believers ʿĀ'ishah: "Erect a tent for ʿĀ'ishah. Check if she has sustained any wounds or injuries." Muḥammad and ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir retrieved the camel litter (*hawdah*) from atop the camel among the slain and carried it to an empty place. The *hawdah* in which ʿĀ'ishah had been seated was reinforced with leather armor. Although many arrows had struck it, ʿĀ'ishah herself remained unharmed. ʿAlī came to see her and asked after her condition. ʿĀ'ishah was deeply grieved by the situation and expressed her remorse, saying, "Would that I had died twenty years ago." At nightfall, Muḥammad (ʿĀ'ishah's brother) took his sister to Baṣrah and placed her in a residence there.

With ʿAlī's permission, the people of Baṣrah began to bury their slain relatives. The number of those killed on both sides exceeded ten thousand. Including the three thousand who had been killed in a

previous confrontation, the total number of dead reached thirteen thousand.

ʿAlī returned the belongings left behind after the battle to their rightful owners, except for that which belonged to the public treasury. That is, he did not treat these possessions as spoils of war and did not divide them among his troops. No one was treated as a captive, for the battle had not been fought against unbelievers, but rather between two groups of Muslims. For this reason, this action later served as a precedent for jurists in matters of jurisprudence. ʿAlī then went to Baṣrah, where all the people of Baṣrah came and pledged allegiance to him. He appointed ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās as governor of Baṣrah. He also entrusted Ziyād ibn Abīh with oversight of the land tax (*kharāj*) and the public treasury (*bayt al-māl*).

The Return of the Mother of the Believers, ʿĀ'ishah, to Madīnah: When the Mother of the Believers, ʿĀ'ishah, desired to depart from Baṣrah, ʿAlī sent to her all necessities for the journey, including provisions, a mount, and a protective escort. He also granted permission to those who wished to accompany her and remain in her company. He selected about forty women from among the well-known families of Baṣrah to accompany her to Madīnah, placing her brother Muḥammad in charge of them. On the day of her departure, ʿAlī came and stood at the door, and the people gathered. While she was in the *hawdah* (litter), she was brought out from her residence. She bade farewell to the people and supplicated for them, saying: "O, my sons, let us not reproach one another. By God, what has been between me and ʿAlī has been of the sort that occurs between a woman and her in-laws. In my estimation, ʿAlī is among the best of them."

ʿAlī replied: "She has spoken the truth. What was between us is as she described. ʿĀ'ishah is the wife of your Prophet in this world and the Hereafter." Just as ʿAlī saw her off, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, and Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah also accompanied her for a day's journey as part of her farewell. Afterward, the Mother of the Believers, ʿĀ'ishah, never again left Madīnah, and it is known from the sources that she was deeply saddened by this event for the rest of her life, frequently repenting and seeking forgiveness, expressing her regret. When ʿAlī was bidding her farewell, he stood beside the camel litter in which she was seated and reproached her for having set out on this campaign (from Makkah).

ʿĀ'ishah replied: "O, son of Abū Ṭālib, you now have the upper hand. So be gentle and forgive."[1140]

It is also reported from ʿĀ'ishah that she said: "When ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar passes by here, show him to me." When ʿAbd Allāh passed by, the Mother of the Believers called out to him: "O, father of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, why did you not prevent me from setting out for Baṣrah?" He replied: "A man," referring to ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, "had prevailed upon you. I did not think you would oppose him." ʿĀ'ishah responded: "Had you said to me, 'Do not go,' I would not have gone." [1141]

All of these reports demonstrate that ʿĀ'ishah acknowledged her departure as a momentous event in her life and expressed regret for it. At the time of her death, her intention was to be buried in her own chamber (that is, the room in which the Messenger of God ﷺ and also Abū Bakr and ʿUmar are buried. However, she said: "I was mistaken," and thus requested to be buried in al-Baqīʿ, alongside the other wives of the Prophet. [1142]

Criticism of the Ḥadīth of Haw'ab: Al-Albānī wrote the following regarding the ḥadīth of Haw'ab: "The chain of transmission (isnād) of this ḥadīth is sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*). Five of the great ḥadīth scholars have affirmed its authenticity. They are: Ibn Ḥibbān, al-Ḥākim, al-Dhahabī, Ibn Kathīr, and Ibn Ḥajar." Those who transmitted this ḥadīth in their works include: Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad* 6:52, 6:97; Abū Isḥāq al-Ḥarbī, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth* 5:78; Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* no. 1831; Ibn ʿAdīy, *al-Kāmil* 5:515 #1152; al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak* 3:120. All of them report it from Qays ibn Ḥāzim. The isnād of these reports is sound. Its transmitters are trustworthy and are among the narrators of the *kutub al-sittah* (the six canonical books). This is among the most authentic of ḥadīth*s*, and therefore both the early and later scholars have affirmed its authenticity. However, al-Qāḍī Abū Bakr ibn al- ʿArabī severely rejected this ḥadīth in his book *al-ʿAwāṣim min al-qawāṣim*, 61, stating: "What you have mentioned, the Prophet ﷺ never said. Nothing of the sort has been

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[1140] Ibn al-Athīr al-Mubārak ibn Muḥammad al-Jazarī, *al-Nihāyah fī gharīb al-ḥadīth*, 2:859.

[1141] Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb*, 1:275.

[1142] Isḥāq ibn Rāhawayh, *al-Musnad*, 2:32.

transmitted. No one has testified that this location was the water of Haw'ab."

Al-Albānī comments: "Although we agree with him that such a testimony is not reliably established, because Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr are among the ten who were given glad tidings of Paradise (*al-ʿasharah al-mubashsharah*), we do not accept his statement, 'What you have mentioned, the Prophet ﷺ never said.' Among the scholars of knowledge, this ḥadīth is known to have been transmitted with a sound chain in the most authoritative books of the Sunnah."

In summary: ʿĀ'ishah, after learning that she had reached the water of Haw'ab, should have turned back. The import of the ḥadīth suggests that she did not. The departure of the Mother of the Believers was a mistake. When she reached the water of Haw'ab, and the Prophet ﷺ had foretold the future events, it was her duty to return. However, al-Zubayr persuaded her not to return, saying: "Perhaps God will reconcile the people through you." Undoubtedly, this too was an error.

In a war that resulted in the killing of hundreds [thousands], reason dictates that one of the two parties must have been in error. Based on numerous reasons and clear evidence, ʿĀ'ishah was mistaken. She regretted her departure. What befits her virtue and perfection is precisely this repentance. Her error was forgiven and, indeed, it was a mistake for which she earned reward.[1143]

ʿAlī's Treatment of the Mother of the Believers ʿĀ'ishah after the Battle and Sending Her to Madīnah. The report of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Budayl:

انْتَهَى عَبْدُ اللهِ بْنُ بُدَيْلٍ إِلَى عَائِشَةَ وَهِيَ فِي الْهَوْدَجِ يَوْمَ الْجَمَلِ، فَقَالَ: يَا أُمَّ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَنْشُدُك بِاللهِ، أَتَعْلَمِينَ أَنِّي أَتَيْتُكِ يَوْمَ قَتْلِ عُثْمَانَ، فَقُلْتُ: إِنَّ عُثْمَانَ قَدْ قُتِلَ فَمَا تَأْمُرِينِي؟ فَقُلْتِ لِي: الْزَمْ عَلِيًّا. فَوَاللهِ مَا غَيَّرَ وَلاَ بَدَّلَ. فَسَكَتَتْ. ثُمَّ أَعَادَ عَلَيْهَا ثَلاَثَ مَرَّاتٍ، فَسَكَتَتْ. فَقَالَ: اعْقُرُوا الْجَمَلَ، فَعَقَرُوهُ. قَالَ: فَنَزَلْتُ أَنَا وَأَخُوهَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ أَبِي بَكْرٍ، وَاحْتَمَلْنَا الْهَوْدَجَ حَتَّى وَضَعْنَاهُ بَيْنَ يَدَيْ عَلِي. فَأَمَرَ بِهِ عَلِيٌّ فَأُدْخِلَ فِي مَنْزِلِ عَبْدِ اللهِ بْنِ بُدَيْلٍ.

[1143] Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, *Silsilat al-aḥādīth al-ṣaḥīḥah*, 1:767 #474.

During the Battle of the Camel, while the Mother of the Believers ʿĀ'ishah was still in the camel litter, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Budayl came to her and said: "O, Mother of the Believers, for the sake of God, you know that on the day ʿUthmān was killed, I came to you and said: ' ʿUthmān has been killed; what do you command me [to do]?' You said to me: 'Be with ʿAlī.' By God, ʿAlī has not changed anything." ʿĀ'ishah remained silent. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Budayl repeated this three times, and she still remained silent. Thereupon, he gave the command: "Cut the legs of the camel from behind." When the legs of the camel were struck, the camel collapsed. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Budayl continued, saying: "I and Muḥammad, the son of Abū Bakr and brother of ʿĀ'ishah, dismounted from our mounts. We took the litter from the camel and placed it in front of us. By command, the litter in which ʿĀ'ishah was [seated] was taken to the house of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Budayl." [1144]

ʿAlī's Regret Concerning the Event of the Camel:

عَنْ قَيْسِ بْنِ عَبَّادٍ، قَالَ: قَالَ: عَلِيٌّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ لِابْنِهِ الْحَسَنِ يَوْمَ الْجَمَلِ: «يَا حَسَنُ، لَيْتَ أَبَاكَ مَاتَ مِنْ عِشْرِينَ سَنَةً. قَالَ: فَقَالَ لَهُ الْحَسَنُ: يَا أَبَتِ قَدْ كُنْتُ أَنْهَاكَ عَنْ هَذَا. قَالَ: يَا بُنَيَّ لَمْ أَرَ الْأَمْرَ يَبْلُغُ هَذَا .»

Qays ibn ʿAbbād narrated, saying: During the event of the Camel, ʿAlī said to Ḥasan, the son of ʿAlī: "O, Ḥasan, would that your father had died twenty years ago." Ḥasan said: "I tried to dissuade you from this." ʿAlī said: "My dear son, I did not foresee that the situation would reach this point." [1145]

A narration expressing the regret of the Mother of the Believers ʿĀ'ishah regarding the event of the Camel:

عَنْ عَائِشَةَ قَالَتْ:« وَدِدْتُ أَنِّي كُنْتُ ثَكِلْتُ عَشْرَةً مِثْلَ الْحَارِثِ بْنِ هِشَامٍ، وَأَنِّي لَمْ أَسِرْ مَسِيرِي مَعَ ابْنِ الزُّبَيْرِ». قال الحاكم: صحيح على شرط الشيخين ولم يخرجاه. ووافقه الذهبي في تلخيصه.

[1144] Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 15:283 #38986.

[1145] ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Sunnah*, 2:566 #1326, 2:589 #1397; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:103 #4557.

The Mother of the Believers ʿĀ'ishah said: "If only I had not set out on that journey with the son of Zubayr (i.e., ʿAbd Allāh), I would have preferred to lose ten men like Ḥārith ibn Hishām." Al-Ḥākim said: This ḥadīth meets the conditions of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, yet they did not transmit it. Al-Dhahabī concurred with al-Ḥākim's judgment that it is *ṣaḥīḥ*.[1146]

This narration also expresses her regret:

عَنْ عُرْوَةَ بْنِ الزُّبَيْرِ، عَنْ عَائِشَةَ زَوْجِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ كَانَتْ تَقُولُ: يَا لَيْتَنِي كُنْتُ نَسْيًا مَنْسِيًّا. فَأَمَّا الَّذِي كَانَ مِنْ شَأْنِ عُثْمَانَ، فَوَاللَّهِ مَا أَحْبَبْتُ أَنْ يُنْتَهَكَ مِنْ عُثْمَانَ أَمْرٌ قَطُّ، إِلَّا انْتُهِكَ مِنِّي مِثْلُهُ. حَتَّى لَوْ أَحْبَبْتُ قَتْلَهُ قُتِلْتُ. يَا عُبَيْدَ اللَّهِ بْنَ عَدِيٍّ، لَا يَغُرَّنَّكَ أَحَدٌ بَعْدَ الَّذِي تَعْلَمُ. فَوَاللَّهِ مَا احْتَقَرْتُ أَعْمَالَ أَصْحَابِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ حَتَّى نَجَمَ النَّفَرُ الَّذِينَ طَعَنُوا فِي عُثْمَانَ. فَقَالُوا قَوْلًا لَا يَحْسُنُ مِثْلُهُ، وَقَرَءُوا قِرَاءَةً لَا يَحْسُنُ مِثْلُهَا، وَصَلَّوْا صَلَاةً لَا يُصَلَّى مِثْلُهَا. فَلَمَّا تَدَبَّرْتُ الصَّنِيعَ إِذَنْ وَاللَّهِ مَا تَقَارَبُوا أَعْمَالَ أَصْحَابِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. فَإِذَا أَعْجَبَكَ حُسْنُ قَوْلِ امْرِئٍ فَقُلِ: ﴿ اعْمَلُوا فَسَيَرَى اللَّهُ عَمَلَكُمْ وَرَسُولُهُ وَالْمُؤْمِنُونَ ﴾ . وَلَا يَسْتَخِفَّنَّكَ أَحَدٌ.

ʿUrwah ibn al-Zubayr said: we went to ʿĀ'ishah. I mentioned ʿUthmān. ʿĀ'ishah said: "If only I had been forgotten." Concerning what happened regarding ʿUthmān, she said: "By God, I never wanted the sanctity of ʿUthmān to be violated. For if his sanctity had been violated, mine would have been violated as well. If I had desired his killing, I too would have been killed." Then she said: "O, ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿAdīy, let no one deceive you after what you know. By God, I never belittled the deeds of the Companions of the Messenger of God ﷺ until the matter of those who rose against ʿUthmān. They uttered words the likes of which could not be said. They recited a Qur'ān the likes of which could not be recited. They performed a prayer the likes of which could not be

[1146] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:119 #4609.

performed. When I reflect upon what happened, by God, they did not attain the deeds of the Companions of the Messenger of God ﷺ." "When you hear someone speak a good word, say this: 'Say: Act! For God will see your deed, as will His messenger and the believers'." [1147] Let no one belittle you. [1148]

The regret of Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ: We have previously mentioned the ḥadīth of Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ in which he spoke of the virtues of ʿAlī. At the beginning of that ḥadīth, Saʿd expressed his regret at not having been with ʿAlī in the following manner: Haythamah ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān said: I heard Saʿd ibn Mālik say the following: Someone said to him, "'Alī has spoken against you because you were not with him." Saʿd said: "By God, that was my personal opinion, and I was mistaken in that opinion. However, there is no doubt that three things were given to ʿAlī, and if one of them had been given to me, it would have been more beloved to me than the world and all that is in it." In this narration, Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ clearly states that he erred and expresses his regret for not having been with ʿAlī.

The regret of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar: Having witnessed many inappropriate things under the rule of the Banū Umayyah, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar regretted not having been with ʿAlī, was deeply saddened by it, and constantly sought forgiveness for it. The related narration is as follows:

عَنِ الزُّهْرِيِّ، أَخْبَرَنِي حَمْزَةُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عُمَرَ. أَنَّهُ بَيْنَمَا هُوَ جَالِسٌ مَعَ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عُمَرَ، إِذْ جَاءَهُ رَجُلٌ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْعِرَاقِ، فَقَالَ: يَا أَبَا عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ، إِنِّي وَاللَّهِ لَقَدْ حَرَصْتُ أَنْ أَتَسَمَّتُ بِسَمْتِكَ، وَأَقْتَدِي بِكَ فِي أَمْرِ فُرْقَةِ النَّاسِ. وَأَعْتَزِلُ الشَّرَّ مَا اسْتَطَعْتُ. وَإِنِّي أَقْرَأُ آيَةً مِنْ كِتَابِ اللَّهِ مُحْكَمَةً قَدْ أَخَذَتْ بِقَلْبِي، فَأَخْبِرْنِي عَنْهَا.أَرَأَيْتَ قَوْلَ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ: ﴿ وَإِنْ طَائِفَتَانِ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ اقْتَتَلُوا فَأَصْلِحُوا بَيْنَهُمَا فَإِنْ بَغَتْ إِحْدَاهُمَا عَلَى الْأُخْرَى فَقَاتِلُوا الَّتِي تَبْغِي حَتَّى تَفِيءَ إِلَى أَمْرِ اللَّهِ فَإِنْ فَاءَتْ فَأَصْلِحُوا بَيْنَهُمَا بِالْعَدْلِ وَأَقْسِطُوا إِنَّ اللَّهَ

[1147] Q. al-Tawbah, 9:105.

[1148] Maʿmar ibn Rāshid, *al-Jāmiʿ*, 11:447 #20967; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 1:462 #750; Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath, *al-Zuhd*, 279 #318; ʿUmar ibn Shabbah, *Tārīkh Madīnah*, 4:1234.

يُحِبُّ الْمُقْسِطِينَ ﴾ أَخْبِرْنِي عَنْ هَذِهِ الْآيَةِ، فَقَالَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ: مَا لَكَ، وَلِذَلِكَ؟ انْصَرِفْ عَنِّي، فَانْطَلَقَ حَتَّى تَوَارَى عَنَّا سَوَادُهُ، وَأَقْبَلَ عَلَيْنَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ عُمَرَ فَقَالَ: « مَا وَجَدْتُ فِي نَفْسِي مِنْ شَيْءٍ فِي أَمْرِ هَذِهِ الْآيَةِ مَا وَجَدْتُ فِي نَفْسِي أَنِّي لَمْ أُقَاتِلْ هَذِهِ الْفِئَةَ الْبَاغِيَةَ كَمَا أَمَرَنِي اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ .» هَذَا بَابٌ كَبِيرٌ قَدْ رَوَاهُ عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عُمَرَ جَمَاعَةٌ مِنْ كِبَارِ التَّابِعِينَ، وَإِنَّمَا قَدَّمْتُ حَدِيثَ شُعَيْبَ بْنَ أَبِي حَمْزَةَ، عَنِ الزُّهْرِيِّ وَاقْتَصَرْتُ عَلَيْهِ لِأَنَّهُ صَحِيحٌ عَلَى شَرْطِ الشَّيْخَيْنِ »

Al-Zuhrī narrated, saying: Hamzah, the son of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar, told me. While I was sitting with ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar, a man from the people of Iraq came. He said: "O, father of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, by God, I have strived greatly to be like you and to follow your path. Concerning the separation among people, I desire to follow you, as much as I can, and to distance myself from evil. I am reading a clear verse from the book of God, and it has taken my heart. Please explain it to me. Did you see the words of God, the Mighty and Majestic: 'If two groups of believers fight, make peace between them. But if one of them oppresses the other, fight the oppressor until they return to the command of God. Then, if they return, make peace between them with justice and act justly. Indeed, God loves those who act justly.' [1149] Tell me about this verse," he said. ʿAbd Allāh said, "What is your problem, why do you ask about this verse? Go away from me," he replied. The man left and disappeared from sight. ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar turned to us and said: Concerning this verse, because I did not fight with the unjust group as God commanded me, nothing has remained in my heart more than this regret." [1150] Ḥabīb ibn Abī Thābit said, "It has been reported to me that, during the illness of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar before his death, he said: "I do not regret anything of the world, but I regret not having fought with ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib against the unjust group." [1151]

[1149] Q. al-Ḥujurāt, 49:9.

[1150] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:125 #4598.

[1151] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 4:186; Yaḥyá ibn Sufyān al-Fasawī, *al-Maʿrifah wa-al-tārīkh*, 3:84; Ḥamzah ibn Yūsuf al-Jurjānī, *Tārīkh Ǧurjān*, 282 #483; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 13:145 #13824; Nūr al-Dīn

ʿAlī's Journey from Baṣrah to Kūfah: After the situation in Baṣrah settled, ʿAlī went to Kūfah. The people of Iraq, Fāris, Khurāsān, Yemen, Yamāmah, Hijāz, and Egypt pledged allegiance and obedience to ʿAlī. However, the people of Syria and its surroundings, under the rule of Muʿāwiyah, did not pledge allegiance to ʿAlī. As a result, ʿAlī sent letters to Muʿāwiyah urging his allegiance and sent important envoys. He planned to march against him if it became clear that Muʿāwiyah would not pledge allegiance. After sending many letters inviting him to obedience, ʿAlī decided to personally send an envoy. The leader of the Bajīlah tribe in Yemen, Jarīr ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Bajalī, had been appointed by ʿUthmān as the governor of Hamadān. He came to Kūfah and pledged allegiance to ʿAlī. ʿAlī then sent Jarīr ibn ʿAbd Allāh as an envoy to Muʿāwiyah. However, Muʿāwiyah, after keeping Jarīr in Syria for four months, informed him that he would not pledge allegiance. The reason Muʿāwiyah acted in this manner was to buy time. As a result, Jarīr was heavily criticized and accused of supporting Muʿāwiyah. He became angry with these criticisms and eventually joined Muʿāwiyah's side.

In the meantime, Muʿāwiyah did not remain idle and sent letters to the people of Madīnah, urging them to join him [against ʿAlī]. However, after receiving a rejection from them, he sent letters to prominent companions in Madīnah who preferred to remain neutral, such as Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar, and Muḥammad ibn Maslamah. All three responded with a letter of rejection, informing him that although they had withdrawn from the conflict, they had pledged allegiance to ʿAlī. However, ʿUmar's younger son, ʿUbayd Allāh, went to Syria and joined Muʿāwiyah.

ʿAlī ibn Abī Bakr al-Haythamī, *Majmaʿ al-zawāʾid*, 7:242 #12045, after citing this says: "Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī transmitted it through several isnāds. One of these chains is composed of *ṣaḥīḥ* narrators, that is, all the transmitters in the chain are *thiqah* (reliable)"; Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb*, 3:953; Ibn al-Athīr ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Usd al-ghābah*, 3:336 #855, 4:108 #1153.

The situation that emerged necessitated a war with Muʿāwiyah. ʿAlī began preparations. He appointed Abū Masʿūd al-Anṣārī as the governor of Kūfah. He himself went to Nahīlah to organize the army. He sent out orders to gather soldiers from the surrounding areas. The governor of Baṣrah, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās, came with the Baṣrah army and joined the main force. Soldiers from surrounding regions came gradually and joined the army.

In ʿAlī's army, there were eighty of the companions from the Battle of Badr and about eight hundred companions who had pledged allegiance under the Tree of Ridwān. Except for a few individuals, the entire group of the Anṣār joined ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn.[1152] Among the early Muslims were distinguished figures such as ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir, Abū Ayyūb Khālid ibn Zayd al-Anṣārī, Sahl ibn Ḥunayf al-Anṣārī, ʿAdīy ibn Ḥātim, the famous generous chief of the Ṭayy tribe, and one of the great Followers, Uways al-Qarnī. Many tribal leaders and chiefs came to ʿAlī, followed him, and joined his army along with their tribes.

Muʿāwiyah, however, was not idle; he also organized his army. He provided banners to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, his sons, and ʿAmr's freed slave, Wardān, thereby ensuring ʿAmr's satisfaction.

After ʿAlī organized his army, he sent Ziyād ibn al-Naḍr with eight thousand troops and Shurayḥ ibn Hāni' with four thousand soldiers as the advance forces. ʿAlī himself, with his army, first went to Sābāṭ near the ruins of Babylon and then proceeded to Madā'in the next day. After sending Maʿqil ibn Qays to Mawṣil to mobilize its soldiers, he continued his journey towards Raqqah. In Raqqah, they faced a challenge crossing the Euphrates River. The boatmen initially opposed the construction of a bridge, but after threats from Ashtar, they agreed, and a large bridge was built. Thus, ʿAlī was able to get his army across the river to the western side.

Muʿāwiyah also set out with his army from Damascus, sending his advance force led by Abū al-ʿAwwār al-Sulamī. When the advance forces of both armies came close to each other, ʿAlī sent three thousand cavalry to support Ziyād and Shurayḥ. He instructed them to hold off from fighting immediately and issued orders for them to obey Ashtar.

[1152] Ibn al-Athīr al-Mubārak ibn Muḥammad al-Jazarī, *al-Nihāyah fī gharīb al-ḥadīth*, 5:206; Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ǧāmiʿ al-kabīr*, 13:76.

ʿAlī sought an appropriate place to set up camp, while Muʿāwiyah had already arrived at a location called Ṣiffīn, where he had settled his army and controlled the area of the Euphrates River where water could be accessed. ʿAlī set up camp nearby. When his soldiers sought water, Muʿāwiyah's troops prevented them from taking it. ʿAlī sent envoys to Muʿāwiyah, but Muʿāwiyah and his commanders were determined not to allow access to water. This led to a skirmish, but ʿAlī's forces were victorious [and took control of the access point]. ʿAlī then ordered his troops not to prevent Muʿāwiyah's soldiers from accessing water.

Meanwhile, ʿAlī sent envoys to Muʿāwiyah to offer advice [to not fight]. Muʿāwiyah insisted on demanding justice for the blood of ʿUthmān. He sought not only the killers but also those who had come to Madīnah [demanding justice from ʿUthmān]. This was something ʿAlī could not agree to, as [although ʿAlī did not allow any of the killers of ʿUthmān to be in his army], it essentially meant handing over commanders like Ashtar and parts of his army to Muʿāwiyah. It became clear that the only remaining solution was battle. Initially, some brave men and factions would challenge each other in single combat, which ʿAlī's side predominantly managed through Ashtar. This continued until the end of the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah.

From the beginning of Dhū al-Ḥijjah until the end of Muḥarram, a form of ceasefire, or truce, was established. No fighting occurred for two months. During this time, envoys came and went, seeking peace, but no resolution was reached. At the end of Muḥarram, ʿAlī sent an envoy to call the soldiers of Syria, addressing them: "The Commander of the Believers has hoped that you will return to the truth, but you have not accepted it and have not come to the right path. The truce has now expired."

Once the seriousness of the situation was understood, Muʿāwiyah and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ began organizing their troops. Muʿāwiyah appointed Dhū al-Kalāʿ al-Ḥimyarī to command the right wing, Ḥabīb ibn al-Maslamah al-Fihrī to command the left wing, Abū al-ʿAwwār al-Dimashqī as the commander of the vanguard, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ to command the cavalry, Muslim ibn al-ʿUqbah al-Miṣrī for the infantry, and appointed Ḍahhāk ibn Qays as the overall commander of all forces.

ʿAlī also organized his army. He appointed Ashtar to lead the Kūfan cavalry, ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir to lead the infantry, Sahl ibn Ḥunayf to lead the Baṣran cavalry, and Qays ibn Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah to lead the infantry.

He entrusted the standard to Hāshim, the son of ʿUtbah ibn Wāqqās, the brother of Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ. He assigned Ibn Fadak to oversee the Qurʾān reciters (*qurrāʾ*) from Kūfah and Baṣrah. He gave the following advice to his soldiers: "Be patient and steadfast. Do not initiate the battle unless the rebels begin. Do not pursue those who flee. Do not kill the wounded. Do not cut off the ears or noses of the dead. Do not expose anyone's private parts. Even if the women curse you and your leaders, do not harm them."

For about a week, each day, warriors would volunteer for duels, either individually or in small groups. At the beginning of [the month of] Ṣafar, on Thursday morning after the dawn prayer, ʿAlī advanced with his army into battle. After a fierce confrontation, ʿAlī's forces reached the tent of Muʿāwiyah. ʿAlī called out to Muʿāwiyah to come out for a duel. However, Muʿāwiyah lacked the courage to face him. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ encouraged Muʿāwiyah to step forward, but Muʿāwiyah replied: "You know that anyone who has faced ʿAlī in a duel has not escaped his sword. Your intention is for him to kill me so that you may become the commander in my place."

The battle continued through Friday night until dawn, but by the morning, Muʿāwiyah and his troops retreated, leaving the battlefield behind them. This caused great concern for both Muʿāwiyah and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ. ʿAmr then suggested to Muʿāwiyah: "Order the soldiers to raise the *muṣḥaf* [written copy of the Qurʾān] on the tips of their swords." After doing so, the Syrian soldiers called out to ʿAlī's troops: "We call you to the book of God." Some of ʿAlī's soldiers, upon hearing this, said, "Since they are calling us to the book of God, let us accept it." But ʿAlī warned them not to be deceived by this, saying, "I know their intentions; do not be swayed by them [it's a trick]." The opposition group, mostly *qurrāʾ* (the reciters), threatened ʿAlī, saying, "Either you will accept the invitation to the book of God, or we will deliver you into the hands of your enemies, or we will treat you as we treated ʿUthmān."

Among this group was a man named Ashʿath ibn al-Qays, who went to Muʿāwiyah to inquire about his intentions. Muʿāwiyah explained that their goal was to appeal to the book of God, and suggested that both sides choose arbitrators who would make decisions in accordance with the book. Ashʿath returned to ʿAlī and informed him of the proposal, and the opposition group in ʿAlī's army accepted the idea.

The selection of the arbitrators and the outcome: Since there was nothing more ʿAlī could do, he accepted the selection of the arbitrators, and thus a ceasefire was agreed upon. However, a division arose in his army, and the decision-making now lay in the hands of the opposing group. Disagreements emerged regarding the choice of the arbitrators. While ʿAlī proposed ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās, the opposing group insisted on ʿAbd Allāh ibn Qays, known as Abū Mūsá al-Ashʿarī as the arbitrator. In fact, Abū Mūsá had not pledged allegiance to ʿAlī nor accepted him as the caliph. ʿAlī said, "You rebelled against me, but at least obey me in this matter. Abū Mūsá is not trustworthy in this regard. He left me and prevented the people from helping me. Then he fled. It was only after a few months that I managed to find him. His selection is absolutely not permissible."

The opposition replied, " ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās is your cousin, but we want a neutral person," and persisted in insisting on Abū Mūsá's selection. They rejected the suggestion of Ashtar. In this situation, ʿAlī was compelled to say, "Now, you may do as you wish." Immediately, they sent someone to Abū Mūsá al-Ashʿarī. The messenger informed him, "The people have made peace, and they have appointed you as the arbitrator." Abū Mūsá, who was not in favor of war, expressed his gratitude upon hearing the news of peace, saying "*Alhamdulillah*" (All praise be to God). However, when he learned he had been appointed as an arbitrator, he said, "*Inna lillah wa inna ilayhi rājʿūn*" (Indeed, we belong to God, and to Him we return) [this verse is often quoted when people hear the news of someone's passing away]. He responded to the call and came to the army.

Muʿāwiyah's arbitrator, however, was ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ. On the 13th of Safar, in the 37th year of the hijrah, Wednesday, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ arrived with his army. In the presence of the Commander of the Faithful, he and Abū Mūsá met to begin drafting the arbitration agreement. The scribe began by writing, "This is the decree between the Commander of the Faithful ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah ," to which ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ objected, saying, "He is your commander, but not ours. Write 'the Commander of the Faithful' only for him."

Aḥnaf ibn Qays responded, "Even if all the people were to kill each other, I would not erase the words 'Commander of the Faithful'," but

ʿAlī, after a brief pause, said to Aḥnaf, "Erase it." When Aḥnaf refused to erase it, ʿAlī himself took the pen and erased the words. Afterward, ʿAlī explained, "*Allāhu Akbar*" (God is the Greatest). This is an déjà vu, déjà vu! I was the scribe of the Treaty of Ḥudaybīyah. I wrote 'Muḥammad, the Messenger of God' at the beginning of the agreement. When the Quraysh envoy saw it, he said, 'If we had accepted you as the Messenger of God, we would not have fought with you.' He said, 'Erase this and write 'Muḥammad, son of 'Abd Allāh.' The Messenger of God ﷺ ordered me to erase it, and I refused. He then showed me the word 'Messenger of God' and erased it himself. He told me, 'Soon, you will encounter a similar situation, and you will accept it'."

ʿAmr responded, "*Subḥān Allāh*" (Glory be to God), are you comparing us to the disbelievers?" ʿAlī retorted, "When have you ever not been an ally of the rebels and a traitor to the Muslims?" ʿAmr, angry at these words, declared, "I will never again be in the same place as you." ʿAlī replied, "I ask God to cleanse the places where I am from you and those like you."

The preliminary agreement regarding the decision to be made by the arbitrators was written as follows: This document represents an agreement between ʿAlī, the son of Abū Ṭālib, and Muʿāwiyah, the son of Abū Sufyān. ʿAlī made this agreement for the people of Iraq and their allies, while Muʿāwiyah made it for the people of Syria and their allies. They both pledged to accept the judgment of God and His book, agreeing to uphold what the Qur'ān has revived and abolish what it has abrogated. The arbitrators, Abū Mūsá and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, will base their decisions on the rulings found in the Qur'ān, and in matters where the Qur'ān is silent, they will follow the just sunnah (traditions) of the Prophet. The two sides also pledged to ensure the safety of the arbitrators and their families as a result of the decision they would render. ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah , along with their respective armies, gave their assurances in this regard. Both arbitrators also swore to rule by God's book. They decided to postpone the final decision until the month of Ramaḍān or, if needed, at a later time, and agreed to meet at a neutral location between Kūfah and Damascus.

As witnesses, ten representatives from each side signed the written agreement. The representatives who signed on behalf of the people of Iraq were: ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās, Ashʿath ibn Qays, Saʿīd ibn Qays al-Hamdānī, ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ṭufayl al-Māfirī, Ḥujr ibn Yazīd al-Kindī,

Warqāʾ ibn Sumayl al-ʿIjlī, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Bilāl al-ʿIjlī, ʿUqbah ibn Ziyād al-Anṣārī, Yazīd ibn Juḥfah al-Tamīmī, and Mālik ibn Kaʿb al-Hamdānī.

On behalf of the people of Syria, the following individuals signed: Abū al-ʿAwar al-Sulamī, Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the son of Khālid ibn al-Walīd, Mukhāriq ibn al-Ḥārith al-Zubaydī, Wāʾil ibn al-ʿAlqamah al-ʿAdawī, ʿAlqamah ibn Yazīd al-Ḥaḍramī, Ḥamzah ibn Mālik al-Hamdānī, Subayʿ ibn Yazīd al-Ḥaḍramī, ʿUtbah, the brother of Muʿāwiyah ibn Abū Sufyān, and Yazīd ibn Ḥurr al-ʿAbsī.

They also urged Ashtar to sign, but he firmly refused to do so.

REJECTION OF MEDIATORS AND THE BEGINNING OF THE KHĀRIJĪ MOVEMENT

Ashʿath ibn Qays read out the written decision to the people. ʿUrwah ibn Udhaynah[1153] from the tribe of Tamīm stood up and said: "Are you making people arbiters in God's religion? Judgment belongs only to God," and struck the back of Ashʿath's mule with the hilt of his sword. A scuffle almost broke out, but Aḥnaf ibn Qays intervened and prevented it. Thus, the first Khārijī (rebellion) movement against ʿAlī began. Some came to ʿAlī and suggested that he return to fighting. ʿAlī responded: "I was not satisfied with the decision made. However, you insisted on accepting the enemies' suggestion, and due to your insistence, I was compelled to accept it. After accepting this, there is no turning back from the decision. While we were on the verge of victory, you were deceived by their cunning. I do not believe you will find the right path to success after this." ʿAlī never wavered from his word; he did not commit betrayal or resort to trickery. He was always cautious not to commit injustice and endeavored to implement what was right. But those opposed to him were not the same.

After the drafting of this preliminary agreement, ʿAlī retreated to Kūfah with his army, and Muʿāwiyah withdrew to Syria. The result of this war, where neither side emerged victorious, was as follows: 45,000 from the Syrian side and 25,000 from ʿAlī's side were killed. Among them, 26 were Companions who participated in the Battle of Badr. Additionally, many famous Companions and Followers who supported ʿAlī were killed. Among them were figures like ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir, who was martyred, and Khuzaymah ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī, whose testimony was accepted as equal to that of two men by the Messenger of God ﷺ, and the famous Follower Uways al-Qarnī, who was also martyred as a supporter of ʿAlī.

The two armies stayed at Ṣiffīn for one hundred and ten days. As mentioned above, the ceasefire was called on the basis of the arbitration process, and the two sides returned to their respective territories. Some among the forces rejected the arbitrators' decision, especially criticizing the appointment of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ as an arbitrator,

[1153] Udhaynah was his mother, and he was attributed to her. His actual name is ʿUrwah ibn al-Jarīr. He is the brother of Bilāl ibn Mirdās.

considering it a great sin. While appointing arbitrators in matters such as disputes between two individuals is permissible, they argued, appointing arbitrators in matters like shedding the blood of Muslims is absolutely not allowed. As a result, they parted ways with ʿAlī and went to a village called Ḥarūrāʾ. Their numbers continued to grow, and eventually, 12,000 gathered in that village. They appointed Shīt ibn al-Rabīʿ as their chief commander and ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Kawwāʾ al-Yashkurī to lead their prayers. They declared that allegiance belongs only to God, that the righteous path is the command of good and the prohibition of evil, and that governance should only be done through consultation (shūrá). Thus, they rejected the notion of imāmate and caliphate. Because of their separation from ʿAlī and their opposition to him, they came to be known as the khārijīs.

In an attempt to resolve this division, ʿAlī sent ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās to the village of Ḥarūrāʾ. Later, he himself went to the village and entered the tent of the most vocal member of the group, Yazīd ibn Quṛṣ, and appointed him as the governor of the provinces of Isfahān and Rayy. ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās engaged in a tough debate with them. Eventually, ʿAlī also went to their gathering and asked: "Who is your leader?" They pointed to ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Kawwāʾ. ʿAlī then asked: "Why did you oppose us?" ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Kawwāʾ replied: "We opposed you because of the decision made by the arbitrators at Ṣiffīn." ʿAlī said: "If the arbitrators make a decision in accordance with the Qurʾān, we will have nothing more to say. If they make a decision contrary to the Qurʾān, we will not accept it." He answered their doubts and objections with clear and firm words. Finally, he said: "Come, let us enter your city." So, they rose and entered the city, waiting for the decision of the arbitrators.

As the time for the arbitrators to convene approached, which was during the month of Ramadān, ʿAlī wished to send Abū Mūsá al-Ashʿarī to the meeting place. Some of the leaders of the Khārijites came to ʿAlī and said: "O, ʿAlī, abandon the decision of the arbitrators and repent for the sin you have committed."

ʿAlī responded: "An agreement was made, and we are bound by the promise. It is obligatory to fulfill the promise." They insisted: "Judgment belongs only to God. Appointing people as arbitrators is a sin. Repent from this."

The Gathering of the Arbitrators: ʿAlī said, "You did not listen to me at the time, and you forced me to accept the arbitrators. Now, there can be no turning back from the agreement we made." He sent Abū Mūsá al-Ashʿarī with four hundred men to Dūmat al-Jandal. He appointed Shurayh ibn Hāniʾ as the commander of the army and assigned ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās to lead the prayer. Muʿāwiyah, in turn, sent ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ with four hundred men. The two sides met at Adhruḥ, a village near Dūmat al-Jandal. Among those present at this meeting were ʿAbd Allāh the son of ʿUmar, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān the son of Abū Bakr, ʿAbd Allāh the son of Zubayr, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Hishām, and Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah, who were among the younger companions of the Prophet ﷺ.

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ set a trap for Abū Mūsá. He said, "You are one of the companions of the Messenger of God ﷺ, and you are older than I am. I will not speak unless you begin." When the two met alone for discussions, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ tested Abū Mūsá's position by saying: "You know that ʿUthmān was unjustly killed. Muʿāwiyah is his heir. You are aware of his noble status and honor within the Quraysh tribe. He is a capable politician and ruler. He is also the brother of Umm Habībah, the wife of the Messenger of God ﷺ. What could prevent him from being the caliph?" In this conversation, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ also subtly hinted that Abū Mūsá might be given a position of governance.

The Arbitrator Abū Mūsá Deposing ʿAlī (Alī's Arbitrator Deposing Him): Abū Mūsá strongly opposed this suggestion and proposed ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ responded, " ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar is an indifferent man. What do you think of my son ʿAbd Allāh being chosen?" Abū Mūsá also rejected this. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ then asked, "What is your opinion?" Abū Mūsá replied, "My view is that we should depose both ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah and leave the matter to a council that will be established. Let the Muslims choose whom they wish." ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ agreed, saying, "This is the best approach," and they reached a consensus on this opinion.

Both of them went out to address the gathered crowd. Abū Mūsá told the people, " ʿAmr and I have agreed on a matter. I hope that God will correct the condition of the ummah (community) through it." ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ affirmed this and told Abū Mūsá, "Go ahead and announce our decision to the people." At that moment, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās

came to Abū Mūsá and said, "O, Abū Mūsá, I fear that ʿAmr may deceive you. Let him announce the decision first, for he is not to be trusted." Abū Mūsá replied, "No, we have agreed, and I will go ahead," and he advanced to speak to the crowd, saying, "O, people, ʿAmr and I have reviewed the matter concerning this ummah. We have agreed on the most beneficial solution, and we have deposed ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah. Let the people choose whom they wish." Then, he withdrew.

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ took his place and said: "O, people, you have heard the words of Abū Mūsá. He has deposed ʿAlī. I, likewise, have deposed ʿAlī and confirmed Muʿāwiyah in his position. For he is the heir of ʿUthmān and has more right than anyone else to hold the caliphate." Abū Mūsá was shocked by this turn of events. When ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās rebuked Abū Mūsá, he responded, "What could I do? ʿAmr had made an agreement with me, but he went back on his word." ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās replied, "The fault is not yours, it lies with the one who appointed you to this position."

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar also lamented, saying, "Look at the state of this ummah, we have ended up in the hands of a reckless man who does as he pleases." ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abū Bakr added, "It would have been better if Abū Mūsá al-Ashʿarī had died the day before." These words affected Abū Mūsá, who then cursed ʿAmr. Shurayh al-Qādī, who had attended the gathering, struck ʿAmr on the head with his whip. ʿAmr's son, ʿAbd Allāh, retaliated. They fought, and others intervened to separate them.

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, along with the delegation from Syria, returned and congratulated Muʿāwiyah on becoming the caliph. ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās and Shurayḥ returned to Kūfah and reported the situation to ʿAlī. Abū Mūsá, ashamed of his actions, fled to Makkah. Naturally, this situation contributed to the strengthening of Muʿāwiyah's position and the weakening of ʿAlī's government. Deeply distressed by this, ʿAlī began to curse Muʿāwiyah, ʿAmr, Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Qays, and those who had played a leading role in this event after the morning prayer. In response, Muʿāwiyah also began to curse ʿAlī, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn.

ʿAlī's battle against the Khārijīs: Unable to tolerate this situation, ʿAlī gathered an army to march toward Syria. However, the Khārijīs, who had gathered in Nahrawān, posed a significant threat and problem, so he first marched against them. Many of them were killed, and their group was dispersed. Just as it was time to march toward Syria, some of the prominent figures in his army, such as Ashʿath ibn Qays, claimed that they were tired and needed rest, expressing a desire to delay the campaign for the time being. Thus, the expedition to Syria was postponed. Meanwhile, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, Muʿāwiyah's right-hand man, took control of Egypt. Muḥammad, the son of Abū Bakr, who had been appointed by ʿAlī as the governor of Egypt, was killed and burned by being placed on the hide of a donkey. Thus, Egypt fell into Muʿāwiyah's possession.

Muʿāwiyah did not stop at taking Egypt. He also stirred up his supporters in Baṣrah and attempted to take control of the city. ʿAlī assigned Aḥnaf ibn Qays to deal with the Baṣrah issue, and it was resolved. Although the government had weakened, resulting in occasional uprisings, these were suppressed. The Khārijīs continued to cause problems from time to time, and although troops were sent to quell their uprisings, they were not entirely eradicated.

Muʿāwiyah's Sending of Busr ibn Abī Arṭāh to Madīnah, Makkah, and Yemen: Whenever Muʿāwiyah found an opportunity, he would make incursions into the territories under his control. One of the most violent and malicious actions was when Muʿāwiyah sent Busr bn Abī Arṭāh, from the Quraysh tribe, of the Luʾayy clan, and the ʿĀmir branch, to Madīnah, Makkah, and Yemen. The full name of Abī Arṭāh was ʿUmayr ibn ʿUwaymir. He was from the Quraysh tribe. In the fortieth year of the hijrah, Muʿāwiyah sent Busr ibn Abī Arṭāh with three thousand soldiers to the Ḥijaz. The army arrived in Madīnah, where the governor was Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, appointed by ʿAlī. Upon hearing that Busr was about to raid Madīnah, Abū Ayyūb fled to Kūfah. Without any resistance, Busr entered Madīnah, ascended the pulpit, and asked, referring to Uthmān, "O, sons of Dīnār, O, sons of Najjār, where is my master?" He then continued his speech, saying, "If it were not for the advice of Muʿāwiyah, I swear by God, I would not leave anyone of age alive, I would kill you all." He instructed the people of Madīnah to

pledge allegiance to Muʿāwiyah. Out of fear, the people of Madīnah pledged allegiance. He sent word to the sons of Salamah, saying, "If you do not bring Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh to pledge allegiance to me, I will not accept your allegiance, nor will I grant you safety." Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh went to Umm Salamah, the mother of the believers, and consulted her, saying, "How do you see this? I fear that they will kill me." She replied, "Go and pledge allegiance." She said, "I have commanded my son ʿUmar and my son-in-law (Zaynab's husband) ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zamʿah to pledge allegiance." With this, Jābir returned and pledged allegiance.

Busr demolished some houses in Madīnah, and some of the people fled to the volcanic regions of the Sulaym tribe. Busr attacked the fleeing people, especially the people of Hamdān, killing many of them. He captured their women and sold them as slaves in the market of Madīnah. These women became the first to be sold as captives in Islamic history, even though they were Muslims. The women whose legs were thicker fetched a higher price. Busr also killed many of the sons of Saʿd. When he reached Makkah, Abū Mūsá al-Ashʿarī feared him and fled. Busr assured him, "I will not harm the companions of the Messenger of God ﷺ." This was because Abū Mūsá had deposed ʿAlī from the caliphate. In the meantime, Abū Mūsá wrote to the people of Yemen, informing them that Busr had been sent by Muʿāwiyah and was killing those who refused to accept his rule.

When Busr arrived in Yemen, ʿUbayd Allāh, the son of ʿAbbās, who had been appointed governor of Yemen by ʿAlī, fled to Kūfah to join ʿAlī. He left ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Madān al-Ḥāwī as his deputy. Upon entering Yemen, Busr killed the deputy ʿAbd Allāh and his son. He also found the family of ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās. While the two young sons of ʿUbayd Allāh, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Qutham, were seeking refuge under their mother's skirt, Busr killed them. In the *al-Wāfī* by al-Ṣafadī, he wrote the following: ʿĀ'ishah, the daughter of ʿAbd al-Mudān, was the wife of ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās. ʿAlī had appointed ʿUbayd Allāh as the governor of Yemen. When Muʿāwiyah sent Busr ibn Abī Arṭāh to Yemen, ʿUbayd Allāh fled. Busr killed the two sons, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Qutham, in front of their mother, ʿĀ'ishah. Because of this event, ʿĀ'ishah lost her sanity. She wandered aimlessly, lamenting the loss of her sons.[1154]

[1154] Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt*, 5:328.

When ʿAlī heard of this, he sent a force of four thousand men to Yemen, with two thousand under the command of Jāriyah ibn Qudāmah and two thousand under the command of Wahb ibn Masʿūd. Jāriyah went to Yemen and reached Najrān. He also killed some of those who supported ʿUthmān. Busr and his companions fled. Jāriyah pursued them all the way to Makkah.

Busr ibn Abī Arṭāh and the Narration of Ḥadīth: According to al-Wāqidī, Yaḥyá ibn Maʿīn, and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal: When the Prophet ﷺ passed away, Busr was still young. Although he reported some ḥadīth from the Prophet, he did not hear them directly from him. Abū Dawūd, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī have narrated his ḥadīth in their *Sunan*. There is a dispute about whether he was a companion. Towards the end of his life, he became senile. Yaḥyá ibn Maʿīn stated that his being a companion is not authentic, and he was a bad person. The people of Madīnah did not accept that he had directly received ḥadīth from the Prophet ﷺ. However, the people of Syria narrated from him. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr said: According to the narrations transmitted by ḥadīth scholars and historians, Busr committed many grave (evil) acts in Islam, such as killing the two sons of ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās in front of their mother.[1155]

The Final Situation and the Truce: In the 40th year of the hijrah, a truce was accepted between the two parties, with the understanding that the region of Iraq would belong to ʿAlī, and the region of Syria would belong to Muʿāwiyah, facilitated by the exchange of envoys between them.

[1155] Ibn Kathīr Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar, *al-Bidāyah wa-al-nihāyah*, 7:356-357; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt*, 3:372; Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 7:409 #9554; Yaḥyá ibn Maʿīn, *al-Tārīkh*, Dūrī's transmission, 3:152 #643, 4:448 #5236; Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb*, 1:157; Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 2:378 #709; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, 1:309 #1168; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 1:289 #642.

The Report that ʿAlī would be Killed for the Prophet's Sunnah:

The ḥadīth of Ḥayyān al-Asadī:

عَنْ حَيَّانَ الأَسَدِيِّ، سَمِعْتُ عَلِيًّا يَقُولُ: قَالَ لِي رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: « إِنَّ الأُمَّةَ سَتَغْدِرُ بِكَ بَعْدِي. وَأَنْتَ تَعِيشُ عَلَى مِلَّتِي، وَتُقْتَلُ عَلَى سُنَّتِي، مَنْ أَحَبَّكَ أَحَبَّنِي، وَمَنْ أَبْغَضَكَ أَبْغَضَنِي، وَإِنَّ هَذِهِ سَتُخَضَّبُ مِنْ هَذَا – يَعْنِي لِحْيَتَهُ مِنْ رَأْسِهِ ».

Ḥayyān al-Asadī reported that he heard ʿAlī say: "The Messenger of God ﷺ said to me: 'After me, the ummah will wrong you. While my community is still living, you will be killed for my sunnah. Whoever loves you, loves me; whoever hates you, hates me. (Pointing to his beard) This (pointing to his head) will be stained with it'." (meaning the blood that will flow from his head will stain his beard). Al-Ḥākim declared this ḥadīth to be authentic. Al-Dhahabī agreed with him.[1156]

The ḥadīth that foretells ʿAlī will be struck on his head:

عَنْ زَيْدِ بْنِ أَسْلَمَ، أَنَّ أَبَا سِنَانٍ الدُّؤَلِيَّ حَدَّثَهُ. أَنَّهُ عَادَ عَلِيًّا رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ فِي شَكْوَى لَهُ أَشْكَاهَا. قَالَ: فَقُلْتُ لَهُ: لَقَدْ تَخَوَّفْنَا عَلَيْكَ يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فِي شَكْوَاكَ هَذِهِ. فَقَالَ: لَكِنِّي وَاللَّهِ مَا تَخَوَّفْتُ عَلَى نَفْسِي مِنْهُ. لِأَنِّي سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ الصَّادِقَ الْمَصْدُوقَ يَقُولُ: « إِنَّكَ سَتُضْرَبُ ضَرْبَةً هَا هُنَا، وَضَرْبَةً هَا هُنَا. – وَأَشَارَ إِلَى صُدْغَيْهِ – فَيَسِيلُ دَمُهَا حَتَّى تَخْتَضِبَ لِحْيَتُكَ. وَيَكُونُ صَاحِبُهَا أَشْقَاهَا، كَمَا كَانَ عَاقِرُ النَّاقَةِ أَشْقَى ثَمُودَ.»

Zayd ibn al-Aslam narrated that Abū Sinan al-Du'alī told him that he visited ʿAlī during his illness. Abū Sinan said, "O, commander of the believers, you frightened us with this illness." ʿAlī replied, "I swear by God, I was not afraid of this illness. I heard from a truthful man, whose truthfulness is affirmed, saying: 'You will be struck here and here.' (pointing to his temples) 'Blood will flow from your temples until your

[1156] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:153 #4686; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿAmr al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, #3320; ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 42:269 #44325.

beard is dyed. The one who does this is the most wicked of people, like the most wicked of the Thamūd people who killed the she-camel of the righteous prophet'."[1157]

Narrations about the war with the Khārijīs:

عَنْ عَبِيدَةَ. عَنْ عَلِيٍّ قَالَ: « ذَكَرَ الْخَوَارِجَ. فَقَالَ: فِيهِمْ رَجُلٌ مُخْدَجُ الْيَدِ – أَوْ مُودَنُ الْيَدِ. أَوْ مَثْدُونُ الْيَدِ – لَوْلاَ أَنْ تَبْطَرُوا لَحَدَّثْتُكُمْ بِمَا وَعَدَ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ يَقْتُلُونَهُمْ عَلَى لِسَانِ مُحَمَّدٍ صلى الله عليه وسلم. قَالَ: قُلْتُ: آنْتَ سَمِعْتَهُ مِنْ مُحَمَّدٍ صلى الله عليه وسلم ؟ قَالَ: إِي وَرَبِّ الْكَعْبَةِ، إِي وَرَبِّ الْكَعْبَةِ، إِي وَرَبِّ الْكَعْبَةِ .»

ʿAbīdah narrated. ʿAlī spoke about the Khārijīs, saying: "Among them is a man with small hands. If you do not become arrogant, I would tell you, from the tongue of Muḥammad ﷺ, the reward that God has promised for the one who kills them." The one who narrated this ḥadīth from ʿAlī (ʿAbīdah al-Salmānī) said: "I asked ʿAlī: Did you hear this directly from Muḥammad ﷺ? ʿAlī replied: 'I swear by the Lord of the Kaʿbah, yes, I swear by the Lord of the Kaʿbah, yes, I swear by the Lord of the Kaʿbah, yes'."[1158]

The ḥadīth of the freed slave of the Messenger of God ﷺ, Abū Rāfiʿ's son, ʿUbayd Allāh, regarding the Khārijīs:

عَنْ عُبَيْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ أَبِي رَافِعٍ مَوْلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم: أَنَّ الْحَرُورِيَّةَ لَمَّا خَرَجَتْ وَهُوَ مَعَ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ رضي الله عنه قَالُوا: لاَ حُكْمَ إِلاَّ لِلَّهِ. قَالَ عَلِيٌّ: كَلِمَةُ حَقٍّ أُرِيدَ بِهَا بَاطِلٌ . إِنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم وَصَفَ نَاسًا إِنِّي لأَعْرِفُ صِفَتَهُمْ فِي هَؤُلاَءِ « يَقُولُونَ الْحَقَّ بِأَلْسِنَتِهِمْ ، لاَ يَجُوزُ هَذَا مِنْهُمْ – وَأَشَارَ إِلَى حَلْقِهِ – مِنْ أَبْغَضِ خَلْقِ اللَّهِ إِلَيْهِ . مِنْهُمْ أَسْوَدُ ،

[1157] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:122 #4590.

[1158] Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 3:114 #2514; Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath, *al-Sunan*, 4:386 #4765; Ibn Mājah Muḥammad ibn Yazīd, *al-Sunan*, 1:115 #167; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 2:60 #626; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:386 #6938.

إِحْدَى يَدَيْهِ طُبْيُ شَاةٍ أَوْ حَلَمَةُ ثَدْيٍ ». فَلَمَّا قَتَلَهُمْ عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ رضى الله عنه قَالَ: انْظُرُوا. فَنَظَرُوا فَلَمْ يَجِدُوا شَيْئًا . فَقَالَ: ارْجِعُوا فَوَاللَّهِ مَا كَذَبْتُ وَلاَ كُذِبْتُ. مَرَّتَيْنِ أَوْ ثَلاَثًا. ثُمَّ وَجَدُوهُ فِي خَرِبَةٍ ، فَأَتَوْا بِهِ حَتَّى وَضَعُوهُ بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ. قَالَ عُبَيْدُ اللَّهِ: وَأَنَا حَاضِرُ ذَلِكَ مِنْ أَمْرِهِمْ، وَقَوْلِ عَلِيٍّ فِيهِمْ.

Abū Rāfiʿ's son ʿUbayd Allāh narrated: When the Ḥarūrīyah (Khārijīs) rebelled and opposed, I was with ʿAlī. They said, "Judgment belongs only to God." ʿAlī said, "This statement is true, but what they seek is false." The Messenger of God ﷺ described some people's characteristics. I see these qualities in them. He said, "They speak the truth with their tongues. What they saydoes not go beyond this (he pointed to his throat). Their actions are not in accordance with their words. They are the people whom God dislikes the most. One of them is dark. One of his hands is like the udder of a goat." ʿAlī, the son of Abū Ṭālib, said, "When you kill them, look for that person." They searched but could not find him. He said, "Go back and search again." He repeated this two or three times. He swore by God, "I swear I did not lie, nor was I lied to." They found him in a ruin. They brought him and placed him before him. ʿUbayd Allāh said, "I was personally involved in the events that occurred to him and what was said about them." [1159]

The narration of Abū Kathīr, a slave of the Anṣār:

أَبُو كَثِيرٍ مَوْلَى الْأَنْصَارِ قَالَ: كُنْتُ مَعَ سَيِّدِي عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، حَيْثُ قُتِلَ أَهْلُ النَّهْرَوَانِ. فَكَأَنَّ النَّاسَ وَجَدُوا فِي أَنْفُسِهِمْ مِنْ قَتْلِهِمْ . فَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ: « يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ، إِنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَدْ حَدَّثَنَا بِأَقْوَامٍ يَمْرُقُونَ مِنَ الدِّينِ، كَمَا يَمْرُقُ السَّهْمُ مِنَ الرَّمِيَّةِ. ثُمَّ لَا يَرْجِعُونَ فِيهِ أَبَدًا، حَتَّى يَرْجِعَ السَّهْمُ عَلَى فُوقِهِ. وَإِنَّ آيَةَ ذَلِكَ: أَنَّ فِيهِمْ رَجُلًا أَسْوَدَ، مُخْدَجَ الْيَدِ. إِحْدَى يَدَيْهِ

[1159] Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 3:116 #2517; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:473 #8509; Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 8:171 #17146.

كَثَدْيِ الْمَرْأَةِ. لَهَا حَلَمَةٌ كَحَلَمَةِ ثَدْيِ الْمَرْأَةِ. حَوْلَهُ سَبْعُ هُلْبَاتٍ. فَالْتَمِسُوهُ فَإِنِّي أُرَاهُ فِيهِمْ . فَالْتَمَسُوهُ، فَوَجَدُوهُ إِلَى شَفِيرِ النَّهَرِ تَحْتَ الْقَتْلَى. فَأَخْرَجُوهُ، فَكَبَّرَ عَلِيٌّ. فَقَالَ: اللهُ أَكْبَرُ، صَدَقَ اللهُ وَرَسُولُهُ . وَإِنَّهُ لَمُتَقَلِّدٌ قَوْسًا لَهُ عَرَبِيَّةً. فَأَخَذَهَا بِيَدِهِ. فَجَعَلَ يَطْعَنُ بِهَا فِي مُخْدَجَتِهِ وَيَقُولُ: صَدَقَ اللهُ وَرَسُولُهُ.» وَكَبَّرَ النَّاسُ حِينَ رَأَوْهُ وَاسْتَبْشَرُوا. وَذَهَبَ عَنْهُمْ مَا كَانُوا يَجِدُونَ .

The freed slave of the Anṣār, Abū Kathīr, said: I was with my master, ʿAlī, the son of Abū Ṭālib, during the fight against the people of Nahrawān. The people were disturbed by this. Then ʿAlī said, "O, people, the Messenger of God ﷺ described certain tribes to us. Just as an arrow passes through its target, these people will depart from the religion. Just as it is impossible to place an arrow back on its bow, it will be impossible for them to return. The sign of them is that among them is a dark man, and one of his hands is small. One of his hands is like a woman's breast. The tip of it is like the tip of a woman's breast. There are seven hairs around it. Look for him; he must be among them." They searched and found him by the riverbank. They pulled him out from under the killed ones and brought him to ʿAlī. When ʿAlī saw him, he said: "God and His messenger have spoken the truth." He said, "*Allāhu Akbar*." The man had an Arabian bow. ʿAlī took the bow in his hand and touched his deformed hand, repeating, "God and His messenger have spoken the truth." When the people saw him, they too said, "*Allāhu Akbar!*" and were given good news. Thus, their anxiety was relieved.

The narration of Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād is similar to this, but in his narration, there is an addition: "When we found him, we prostrated. ʿAlī also prostrated with us."[1160]

The ḥadīth of Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī regarding the war with the Khārijīs:

عَنْ أَبِي سَعِيدٍ الْخُدْرِيِّ قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم: «تَمْرُقُ مَارِقَةٌ عِنْدَ فُرْقَةٍ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ. يَقْتُلُهَا أَوْلَى الطَّائِفَتَيْنِ بِالْحَقِّ.»

[1160] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 2:94 #672, 2:209 #848; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:475 #8513; *Khaṣāʾiṣ ʿAlī*, 187 #181; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 1:254 #478.

Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī narrated, saying: The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "When the Muslims fall into division, one faction will depart from the faith. The faction that is on the truth will kill them." [1161]

Narrations about ʿAlī fighting those who broke their oath of allegiance: This ḥadīth has been narrated with two wordings. In one, the Messenger of God ﷺ commanded ʿAlī, and in the other, ʿAlī says: "I was commanded." ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd said: "The Messenger of God ﷺ commanded ʿAlī to fight those who broke their oath of allegiance, wronged others, and left the faith." [1162] ʿAlqamah narrated from ʿAlī, who said: "I was commanded to fight those who broke their oath of allegiance, wronged others, and left the faith." [1163] Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazari in *al-Nihāyah* explained these words as follows: النَّاكِثِينَ (those who broke their oath) are those who participated in the Battle of The Camel, as they broke their oath. الْقَاسِطِينَ (the wrongdoers) are those who participated in the Battle of Ṣiffīn, as they wronged and violated the truth. الْمَارِقِينَ (those who left the faith) are the Khārijīs (those who opposed ʿAlī), as they, like an arrow passing through the target, left the faith. [1164]

[1161] Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 3:113 #2507, 2509; Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath, *al-Sunan*, 4:350 #4669; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 17:375 #11275; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:453 #8457; Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, 10:258 #4074; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 2:441 #1246; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim Aḥmad ibn ʿAmr, *al-Sunnah*, 2:599 #1328; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:129 #6735.

[1162] Al-Haytham ibn Kulayb al-Shāshī, *al-Musnad*, 1:342 #322; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Mawṣilī, *al-Musnad*, 3:194 #1623; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 10:91 #10053, 10054; *al-Muʃam al-awsaṭ*, 8:213 #8433; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:150 #4674, 4675.

[1163] Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿAmr al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 2:215 #604, 3:26 #774; Ibn al-Muqriʾ Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Muʃam*, 404 #1319; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿAmr, *al-Sunnah*, 2:439 #907; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Mawṣilī, *al-Musnad*, 1:397 #519.

[1164] Ibn al-Athīr al-Mubārak ibn Muḥammad al-Jazarī, *al-Nihāyah fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa-al-athar*, 4:93.

ʿAlī foretold that he would be killed:

عَنْ زَيْدِ بْنِ وَهْبٍ قَالَ: قَدِمَ عَلِيٌّ عَلَى وَفْدٍ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْبَصْرَةِ. مِنْهُمْ رَجُلٌ مِنْ رُءُوسِ الْخَوَارِجِ يُقَالُ لَهُ الْجَعْدُ بْنُ بَعْجَةَ. فَخَطَبَ النَّاسَ، فَحَمِدَ اللَّهَ وَأَثْنَى عَلَيْهِ وَقَالَ: يَا عَلِيُّ، اتَّقِ اللَّهَ، فَإِنَّكَ مَيِّتٌ. وَقَدْ عَلِمْتَ سَبِيلَ الْمُحْسِنِ، يَعْنِي بِالْمُحْسِنِ عُمَرَ. ثُمَّ قَالَ: إِنَّكَ مَيِّتٌ. فَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ: كَلاَّ وَالَّذِي نَفْسِي بِيَدِهِ، بَلْ مَقْتُولٌ قَتْلًا. ضَرْبَةً عَلَى هَذَا يُخَضَّب هَذِهِ. قَضَاءٌ مَقْضِيٌّ، وَعَهْدٌ مَعْهُودٌ، وَقَدْ خَابَ مَنِ افْتَرَى. ثُمَّ عَاتَبَهُ فِي لَبُوسِهِ. فَقَالَ: مَا يَمْنَعُكَ أَنْ تَلْبَسَ؟ قَالَ: مَا لَكَ وَلِلَبُوسِي، إِنَّ لَبُوسِي هَذَا أَبْعَدُ مِنَ الْكِبْرِ، وَأَجْدَرُ أَنْ يَقْتَدِيَ بِهِ الْمُسْلِمُ.

Zayd ibn Wahb narrated, saying: ʿAlī came to a delegation from Baṣrah. One of them was a person called Jaʿd ibn Baʿjah, one of the leaders of the Khārijīs. He addressed the people, and after praising and thanking God, he said: "O, ʿAlī, fear God, you will die. You know the path of the good one." By the good one, he meant ʿUmar. (At the end of his speech) he repeated: "You will die." ʿAlī said: "I swear by Him in Whose hand my soul is, I will be killed. He pointed to his head. "This place will be struck." He pointed to his beard. "This will be dyed with blood." This is predestined fate. It is a spoken prophecy. He who lies is in loss." (After this statement, the leader of the Khārijīs began to speak again.) He rebuked ʿAlī for his attire and said: "What could prevent you from dressing properly?" ʿAlī replied: "What is it to you about my clothing? This garment of mine is one that a Muslim should imitate, a garment free from arrogance." [1165]

In another narration, it is as follows:

عَنْ عَبْدِ اللهِ بْنِ سَبُعٍ قَالَ: خَطَبَنَا عَلِيٌّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ فَقَالَ: وَالَّذِي فَلَقَ الْحَبَّةَ، وَبَرَأَ النَّسَمَةَ لَتُخْضَبَنَّ هَذِهِ مِنْ هَذِهِ. قَالَ: قَالَ النَّاسُ: فَأَعْلِمْنَا مَنْ هُوَ؟ وَاللَّهِ لَنُبِيرَنَّ عِتْرَتَهُ. قَالَ: أَنْشُدُكُمْ بِاللَّهِ، أَنْ يُقْتَلَ غَيْرُ قَاتِلِي. قَالُوا: إِنْ

[1165] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 1:91 #703; *al-Zuhd*, 132 #700; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 1:542 #908; ʿAlī ibn al-Jaʿd, *al-Musnad*, 316 #2147; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim Aḥmad ibn ʿAmr, *al-Sunnah*, 2:447 #918; Ḍiyāʾ al-Maqdisī Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, *al-Mukhtārah*, 2:82 #459.

كُنْتَ قَدْ عَلِمْتَ ذَلِكَ اسْتَحْلِفِ إِذًا. قَالَ: لاَ، وَلَكِن اَكِلُكُم إِلَى مَا وَكَلَكُم إِلَيْهِ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. قَالُوا : فَمَا تَقُولُ لِرَبِّكَ إِذَا أَتَيْتَهُ ؟ – وَقَالَ وَكِيعٌ مَرَّةً: إِذَا لَقِيتَهُ؟ – قَالَ: أَقُولُ: اللَّهُمَّ تَرَكْتَنِي فِيهِمْ مَا بَدَا لَكَ. ثُمَّ قَبَضْتَنِي إِلَيْكَ وَأَنْتَ فِيهِمْ. فَإِنْ شِئْتَ أَصْلَحْتَهُمْ، وَإِنْ شِئْتَ أَفْسَدْتَهُمْ.

ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sabuʿ said: ʿAlī gave a sermon and said: "I swear by God, the One who splits the seed and creates every soul (living being), (pointing to his beard) this will be dyed with blood from here to here (pointing to his head)." The people who heard him said: "Who will do this? Tell us, and we will uproot him." ʿAlī replied: "I swear by God, the one who will kill me will not be killed by anyone else." (Upon hearing this, they said:) "Since you know this, appoint the person who will succeed you after you." ʿAlī replied: "No, I will not do that. I will do what the Messenger of God, may ﷺ and his family, did." (Meaning, I will leave the choice of a successor to you.) The people asked: "What will you say when you stand before your Lord?" ʿAlī replied: "I will say: 'O, God, You kept me among them as You decreed. While You were aware of them, You took me from their midst. If You wish, reform them; if You wish, corrupt them'."[1166]

[1166] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 1:130 #1078, 1:156 #1340; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:709 #1211; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 14:596 #38253; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 1:294 #590; Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī, *al-Sharīʿah*, 4:2014 #1597; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 3:92 #871; Abū Bishr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dūlābī, *al-Kuná wa-al-asmāʾ*, 2:444 #796.

THE ASSASSINATION OF ʿALĪ AND HIS LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT

Ismāʿīl ibn Rāshid said: the account of Ibn Muljam and his companions is as follows: Three men from among the Khārijīs gathered in Makkah: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muljam (who was of Ḥimyar, counted among the tribe of Murād), al-Burak ibn ʿAbd Allāh, and ʿAmr ibn Bukayr al-Tamīmī. They spoke about the condition of the people and denounced the conduct of the governors. Then they remembered the people of Nahrawān and invoked mercy upon them, saying: "By God, we can accomplish nothing by remaining after them. Those were our brothers, who used to call the people to the worship of their Lord, seeking God's pleasure, fearing no blame from any critic. Let us ransom our souls and go forth to strike down the imāms of misguidance, that we might rid the lands of them and take vengeance for our brothers."

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muljam, who was from the people of Egypt, said: "I shall kill ʿAlī." Al-Burak ibn ʿAbd Allāh said: "And I shall kill Muʿāwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān." ʿAmr ibn Bukayr al-Tamīmī said: "And I shall kill ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ." They swore to one another by God that none of them would abandon his mission to kill his target or they will die trying. They took up their swords and poisoned the blades. They agreed to carry out the assassinations on the seventeenth day of Ramaḍān. Each man then went to the city in which he was to commit his deed. As for ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muljam al-Murādī, he came to Kūfah to meet with his associates. Fearing that they might expose his plan, he did not tell anyone what he intended. He would visit his Khārijī companions, and they would visit him. One day, he encountered some men from the tribe of Rabāb al-Taymī. In the battle of Nahrawān, ʿAlī had killed several among them. They remembered the slain and invoked mercy upon them.

That day, Ibn Muljam saw a woman from the tribe of Rabāb al-Taym named Qutām, daughter of Shijn. ʿAlī had killed her father and brother at Nahrawān. She was a very beautiful woman, and when Ibn Muljam saw her, she preoccupied his mind. He forgot the purpose for which he had come to Kūfah: to kill ʿAlī. He proposed marriage to her. The woman said: "If you fulfill my conditions, I will marry you." Ibn Muljam asked: "What are your conditions?" She said: "Three thousand dirhams, a slave, a slave-girl, and the killing of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān said: "As for killing him, truly, you do not desire it sincerely." She replied: "If you kill him, you will fulfill what is in your heart and mine. Then living with me will benefit you. But if you are killed, the reward you will receive from God is better than all the wealth and adornment of the world and all who dwell therein." Ibn Muljam said: "By God, it was for no other reason than to kill him that I came here." Then he said: "I have given you what you ask." Qutām said: "When you are about to do it, let me know. I will find someone who can assist and strengthen you." She found a man named Wardān from her tribe, Rabāb al-Taym. She spoke to him of the matter, and he accepted.

Ibn Muljam then went to a man from the tribe of Ashjaʿ named Shabīb ibn Bujrah. He said to him: "Would you like to attain the honor of this world and the next?" Shabīb asked: "What is it?" Ibn Muljam replied: "To kill ʿAlī." Shabīb said: "May your mother be bereft of you! You are taking on a task you will not be able to carry out. How will you kill him?" Ibn Muljam said: "We will lie in wait for him at dawn. When he comes out for the dawn prayer, we will rush him and kill him." If we are saved, we will have fulfilled our desire and taken our revenge. But if we are killed, the reward with God is better than this world and everything in it, its people, wealth, and adornment. Shabīb said: "Woe to you! If it were anyone other than ʿAlī, this matter would be easier. You know his position in Islam and his past with the Prophet. My heart is not content with this." ʿAbd al-Raḥmān replied: "Do you not know that he killed those who were worshipping and praying at Nahrawān?" Shabīb responded: "Yes, I know." ʿAbd al-Raḥmān said: "He killed our brothers, and for that we will kill him."

Shabīb accepted this. Together, they went to a woman named Katām, who at the time was in *iʿtikāf* (spiritual retreat) in the great mosque. They said to her: "We have agreed to assassinate ʿAlī." Katām replied: "When you are ready to do this, come to me." ʿAbd al-Raḥmān went to Katām and said: "My companions and I have agreed to carry out the killings tonight; each of us has been assigned someone to kill." Katām brought out silk and wrapped them in it. [1167]

On the night he intended to kill ʿAlī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān went to the mosque of al-Ashʿath ibn Qays al-Kindī and sat with him until close to

[1167] Just as people today wear bulletproof materials for protection, in the past they used to wrap their bodies in [TN: tightly woven] silk. Swords and spears would not easily penetrate it.

the emergence of dawn. Al-Ashʿath said to him: "Get up; the morning is upon us." ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Shabīb ibn Bujrah took their swords and sat across from the gate through which ʿAlī would exit. Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī said: "At the pre-dawn hour, I came and sat with my father. He said: last night I wanted to awaken my family. As I sat, my eyes closed, and I saw the Messenger of God. I said: O, Messenger of God, I have seen much hostility and deviation from your community.' He said to me: 'Pray against them.' So I said: 'O, God, grant me better than them, and give them worse than me.' At that moment, the caller to prayer, Ibn al-Nabbāḥ, called out: *al-ṣalāh!* (prayer). I took my father's hand, and he got up and began walking. Ibn al-Nabbāḥ was ahead of him, and I followed behind. As he exited the gate, he cried out, 'O, people! Prayer! Prayer!'—as he did every day. He would leave the house with a staff in hand and awaken the people.

Two men intercepted his path. Some of those who witnessed this said: 'I saw the flash of a sword and heard someone say: "O, ʿAlī! Judgment is not yours or your companions'. Judgment belongs only to God." Then I saw a second sword strike. They struck together. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muljam's blow struck ʿAlī's forehead and penetrated to his brain. Shabīb's sword strike hit the doorpost. Their companion, Wardān, fled and ran into his house. One of his close relatives followed him and entered the house. At that moment, Wardān was removing the silk cloth and sword from his chest. The man asked: "What are this sword and this silk?" Wardān explained what had happened. The man went to his house, retrieved his own sword, and returned to Wardān's house. He struck him repeatedly until he killed him.

I heard someone say at that time: "Don't let the man escape!" People attacked them from all sides. Shabīb fled toward the Kindah gate. People pursued him and there was an altercation, but Shabīb managed to escape. A man from the tribe of Hamdān struck ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muljam's leg with a sword, bringing him to the ground. He was captured and brought before ʿAlī. ʿAlī said: "Give him good food and a soft bed. If I survive, then I have the most right either to exact retribution or to pardon him. But if I die, then send him to me (kill him). Before the Lord of all worlds, I will be his adversary." When Ibn Muljam was brought before him, ʿAlī said: "O, enemy of God! Did I not treat you kindly? Did I not do such and such for you?" Ibn Muljam said: "Yes, you did." ʿAlī asked: "Then what drove you to do this?" He

pointed to his sword and said: "I sharpened this sword for forty mornings. I prayed that the most wicked of God's creation would be killed by it." ʿAlī said: "You shall be killed by this sword, and you are the most wicked of God's creation."

Al-Ashʿath ibn Qays sent his son Qays and said to him: "My son, go and see how the Commander of the Believers is." His son went and looked at ʿAlī, then returned to his father and said: "His eyes have sunken into his head."

ʿAlī said to Ḥasan and Ḥusayn: "O, my sons, I enjoin you to fear God, to establish the prayer at its proper time, and to give the obligatory alms when due. Perform ablution well, for no prayer is accepted without purification. I also advise you to forgive sins, to restrain your anger, to maintain family ties, to be forbearing in the face of ignorant rudeness, to gain understanding in religion, to verify the truth of what is said, to recite the Qur'ān continually, to be good neighbors, to enjoin what is right, to forbid what is wrong, and to avoid indecent and vile things."

The transmitter said: Then he looked at Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah and said to him: "Did you retain in mind the counsel I gave to your brothers?" Muḥammad replied, "Yes." ʿAlī said: "I give you the same counsel. And I further counsel you to show reverence to your brothers, for their rights over you are great. Regard their actions as good. Do not undertake anything without their knowledge. And to them he said: I counsel you regarding him, for he is your brother and the son of your father. You know that your father loved him." Then he had his testament written down.

The Last Will and Testament Dictated by ʿAlī:

In the Name of God, the Most Kind, the Most Merciful. This is the testament of the son of Abū Ṭālib . He bequeathed the following: He bore witness that there is no deity but God, that He is One, without partner, and that Muḥammad is the servant and Messenger of God. He testified that God sent him with the true religion and guidance so that He might make it prevail over all religions, though the polytheists detest it. Then he said:

"Truly my prayer, my ritual sacrifice, my life, and my death are for God, Lord of the worlds. He has no partner. With this I have been commanded, and I am among the Muslims." (Q, al-Anʿām, 6:162–163).

Then he said: "O, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, and all the members of my family and my children, and all to whom this written testament reaches: I counsel you to fear your Lord, God. And do not die except as Muslims. All of you, hold fast to the rope of God, and do not become divided. I heard the Messenger of God ﷺ say: 'Reconciling those in discord is superior to prayer and fasting.' Maintain ties of kinship. Uphold them, so that God may ease your reckoning on the Day of Judgment.

Concerning orphans, I remind you by God. Do not let them perish while you live. Concerning the prayer, I remind you by God. For the prayer is the pillar of your religion. Concerning the almsgiving, I remind you by God. Paying the alms extinguishes the wrath of your Lord, Mighty and Majestic. Concerning the poor and the destitute, I remind you by God. Make them partners in your livelihoods. Concerning the Qur'ān, I remind you by God. Let no one surpass you in acting upon it. Concerning striving in the path of God with your wealth and lives, I remind you by God. Concerning the House of your Lord, I remind you by God. As long as you live, let not the House of your Lord be forsaken. If it is deserted, no one will regard you with mercy. Concerning the protected people (*ahl al-dhimmah*) under the safeguard of your Prophet, I remind you by God. Let them not be wronged in your presence. Concerning your neighbors, I remind you by God. For they are among the ones whom your Prophet commended to you. He said: 'Jibrāʾīl continued to commend them to me until I thought he would declare the neighbor an heir.' Concerning the companions of your Prophet ﷺ, I remind you by God. For he commended them to you. The last thing your Prophet ﷺ spoke was: 'I remind you by God concerning the two weak ones: women and those under your authority through right of possession.'

The prayer, the prayer! Do not fear the blame of those who blame in matters done for the sake of God. He will protect you from those who wrong you. As God has commanded you, speak to people what is right and good. Do not forsake *al-amr bi al-maʿrūf* (commanding right) and *al-nahy ʿan al-munkar* (forbidding wrong). If you do, the worst among you will be placed over you as leaders. You will supplicate, and it will not be answered.

Do not sever mutual concern and connection. Be mutually generous and kind. Beware! Do not let there be estrangement or turning your backs on one another. Do not divide and fragment yourselves. Beware of

severing ties, estrangement, and division. Help one another in *taqwá* (Godfearingness) and *birr* (righteousness), not in sin and hostility. Fear God. For truly God's punishment is severe. God has protected you as *ahl al-bayt* (the People of the House), and through you He has protected His Prophet.

I entrust you to God. Peace be upon you."

In the year 40 A.H., in the month of Ramaḍān, until the moment of his death, he uttered nothing other than "*Lā ilāha illā Allāh*." (There is no god other than God"). ʿAlī lived through Friday and the night of Saturday. May God's mercy and blessings be upon him. He died on the night of Sunday, eleven days before the end of Ramaḍān in the year 40 A.H. Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, and ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar washed his body. He was shrouded in three layers without a shirt. His son Ḥasan led the funeral prayer with four *takbīrs*.

Before the people had dispersed after the dawn prayer, his body was buried in Kūfah in the open area beside the congregational mosque beyond the gates of Kindah. After the burial, Ḥasan departed and called the people to pledge allegiance to him. The duration of ʿAlī's caliphate was four years and nine months. At the time of his death, he was sixty-three years old. [1168]

Let us conclude with the words of the renowned ḥadīth scholar, man of letters, and lexicographer Ibn Qutaybah: In his book *al-Ikhtilāf fī al-lafẓ wa-al-radd ʿalá al-J̌ahmīyah* (Difference in Wording and Refutation of the [Followers of] Jahm). Known as Ibn Qutaybah, his full name is ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim al-Dīnawarī, and he opened a chapter as follows: Ibn Qutaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim al-Dīnawarī's refutation of the Nāṣibīs and the Rāfiḍīs: When the Nāṣibīs saw the Rāfiḍīs' excess in their love for ʿAlī, and their placing ʿAlī above the Companions whom the Messenger of God ﷺ had himself preferred, and when they saw that they claimed he was a partner in prophethood, and that the imāms from

[1168] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:558 #940; Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, 2:285, 286; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 14:596 #38252; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 1:97 #168; Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 3:35-37; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:112, 143, 154 #4588, 4690, 4691, 4692, 4693, 4694; Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī, *al-Sharīʿah*, 4:2105 #1598, 4:2107 #1600; Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb*, 3:1127.

among his descendants knew the unseen, and that they knew many hidden matters, claims which lead to falsehood and unbelief, [the *Nāṣibīs*] responded with extreme ignorance and foolishness. In reaction to the Rāfiḍīs' cursing of the righteous among the early generations (*salaf*), their bearing enmity toward them, and their disavowal of them, the Nāṣibīs in turn went to the opposite extreme: they constantly placed ʿAlī last, denied his due rights, uttered false claims about him, refused to acknowledge that he had been wronged, and accused him of supporting those who unjustly shed blood by aiding those who killed ʿUthmān.

Because of their ignorance, they excluded him from the ranks of rightly guided imāms, and included him among the leaders of *fitnah* (civil strife). Since not everyone pledged allegiance to him, they considered the title of caliph not applicable to him. Yet they saw the title of caliph as valid for Yazīd, the son of Muʿāwiyah, because, they said, "Everyone gave him allegiance." They accused those who praised him [ʿAlī] of evil. Many ḥadīth scholars refrained from transmitting ḥadīths about the virtues of ʿAlī, or refrained from stating what was obligatory regarding him. Yet all those ḥadīth*s* have authentic sources. They even considered Ḥusayn, the son of ʿAlī, as one who fractured the unity and cohesion of the Muslims, and labeled him a Khārijī (a rebel against the established order). Because of that, they claimed that shedding his blood, killing him, was lawful.

As proof, they cited the saying of the Prophet ﷺ: "Whoever revolts while my ummah is united, kill him."[1169] They advanced this ḥadīth as evidence. They considered ʿAlī equal in merit to the members of the *shūrá*. If ʿUmar had considered him superior in merit, he would have placed him at the forefront and would not have delegated the selection of the caliph to the *shūrá*. They neglected anyone who mentioned him or transmitted a ḥadīth concerning his virtues, almost as if deliberately marginalizing him. To such an extent that many ḥadīth scholars refrained from transmitting any ḥadīth concerning his virtues.

On the other hand, they collected reports concerning the merits of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and Muʿāwiyah. It was as if their intention was not to

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[1169] Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 3:1479 #1852; Maʿmar ibn Rāshid, *al-Ǧāmiʿ*, 11:344 #20714; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 31:337 #18999, 19000; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 3:428 #3470; *al-Mujtabá (al-Sunan al-ṣughrá)*, 7:93 #4021; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 10:438 #4577; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim Aḥmad ibn ʿAmr, *al-Sunnah*, 2:526 #1107.

promote ʿAmr and Muʿāwiyah, but rather to diminish ʿAlī. If someone were to say: " ʿAlī is the brother of the Messenger of God ﷺ and the father of his grandsons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn; the People of the Cloak (*ahl al-ʿabā'*) are ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn," faces would sour and eyes would bulge in outrage. The ill feelings hidden within would swell.

If someone were to say: "The Prophet ﷺ said, 'Whomever I am the *mawlá* (master), ʿAlī is also his *mawlá*.'."[1170] Just as the rank of Harūn before Mūsá is, so is your rank before me, ʿAlī." [1171] If someone were to mention ḥadīths similar to these, they investigate the sources of these ḥadīth*s*. All of this is done out of their hatred for the Rāfiḍīs and their desire, even when unnecessary, to belittle ʿAlī, to deny his rights. This, indeed, is sheer ignorance. What is safe for you is this: do not perish through excessive love or hatred for him. Do not harbor hatred for ʿAlī because of the sins committed by others. If you do this, you are an ignorant person who has gone to excess in your hatred of him. You must know his status with the Messenger of God ﷺ, how he raised him, made him his brother, married him to his daughter, fought with him against his enemies, how he struggled in battles in his presence, his place in the religion and in knowledge, his resistance in difficulties, and his virtues. When you know all this, do not exceed the limits set by the righteous predecessors in describing him. They knew him better than anyone else in this regard. The matters on which they agreed are things they saw with their own eyes, without a doubt. Even if a small amount of alteration or error may have entered the transmitted ḥadīths, those who were closest to the Prophet ﷺ knew best.

Due to your reverence for the Messenger of God ﷺ if you love those who were with him, who served him, and who fought against those who opposed him, you follow the path of those who have submitted. In that case, loving ʿAlī is even more proper. For he is the first of the Muslims, a man of virtue, and a close relative. By the command of *mubāhalah* (a prayer invoking God's curse on the liars),[1172] God drew them close to

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[1170] Maʿmar ibn Rāshid, *al-Ǧāmiʿ*, 11:225 #20388; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 2:71 #641; Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 6:74 #3713.

[1171] Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 4:1870 #2404; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 3:124 #1547; *Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:566 #954; Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 6:88 #3730; Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Mājah, *al-Sunan*, 1:45 #121.

[1172] *Mubāhalah* means to mutually invoke God's curse upon one another, calling for God's damnation on whoever is lying.

each other: "Say, when this knowledge comes to you, to those who dispute with you about it, 'Come, let us call our sons and your sons, and our women and your women, and ourselves and yourselves, then let us invoke God's curse upon the liars'." [1173] When this verse was revealed, he called Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, Fāṭimah, and ʿAlī. If someone wishes to be discerning, God will grant him discernment. Those who desire something else will be left in bewilderment. [1174]

[1173] Q. Āl ʿImrān, 3:61. This verse is called the "verse of *mubāhalah*" (mutual invocation of curses), which refers to summoning God's curse upon whichever of parties in a dispute is lying. According to exegetes, a delegation from the Christians of Najrān came before the Messenger of God ﷺ and claimed that since the Qur'ān affirms that Jesus was born without a father, he must be divine. The Prophet ﷺ invited them to a mutual invocation of curses (*mubāhalah*) so that whoever was lying would immediately be punished by God. However, [seeing that the Messenger of God came fearlessly and brought with him his beloved *Ahl al-Bayt*] the Najrān delegation declined and instead signed a treaty accepting Muslim protection and departed.

[1174] Ibn Qutaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim al-Dīnawarī, *al-Ikhtilāf fī al-lafẓ wa-al-radd ʿalá al-jahmīyah*, 54; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, in *al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt*, writes the following about him: " ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutaybah al-Dīnawarī was born in 213/828 and died in 276/889. He was a secretary who settled in Baghdād and authored many works. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī said about him: 'He was trustworthy and reliable, devout and virtuous. He served as judge of Dīnawar. He was a leading figure in the Arabic language, history, and knowledge of events'." Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt*, 17:326.

Reports about Ḥasan and Ḥusayn from the lifetime of the Messenger of God ﷺ: Buraydah said: The Messenger of God ﷺ sacrificed ʿAqīqah (a sacrificial animal offered for a newborn) for Ḥasan and Ḥusayn.[1175] According to the narration of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās, he sacrificed two rams for each of them. ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās said: The Messenger of God ﷺ sacrificed two rams for each of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn as ʿAqīqah. [1176] On the seventh day after their birth, Fāṭimah shaved the heads of Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, Zaynab, and Umm Kulthūm, and gave in charity an amount of silver equivalent to their weight.[1177]

As their house's door opened to the mosque, they often came to the mosque. Their grandfather, the Messenger of God ﷺ loved them, and he would take them into his arms. During prayer, they would climb onto his back, and he would prolong his prostration [until they were done playing on his back] to prevent them from dismounting [so he would not interrupt their play]. After mounting his camel, he would sit one of them in front of him and the other behind him. He would pray: "These are the sons of me and my daughter. O, God, You know that I love them, so love them too."

Ḥadīths about Ḥasan and Ḥusayn: Ḥasan and Ḥusayn resembled the Messenger of God ﷺ greatly.

عَنْ عَلِيٍّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى عَنْهُ قَالَ: « مَنْ سَرَّهُ أَنْ يَنْظُرَ إِلَى أَشْبَهِ النَّاسِ بِرَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَا بَيْنَ عُنُقِهِ إِلَى وَجْهِهِ فَلْيَنْظُرْ إِلَى الْحَسَنِ بن عَلِيٍّ. وَمَنْ سَرَّهُ أَنْ يَنْظُرَ إِلَى أَشْبَهِ النَّاسِ بِرَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَا بَيْنَ عُنُقِهِ إِلَى كَعْبِهِ خَلْقًا ولَوْنًا فَلْيَنْظُرْ إِلَى الْحُسَيْنِ بن عَلِيٍّ ».

[1175] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 38:109 #23001, 38:160 #23058; Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath, *al-Sunan*, 3:107 #2841.

[1176] Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 4:372 #4531; *al-Sunan* (*al-Mujtabá*), 7:165 #4219.

[1177] Mālik ibn Anas, *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, 3:716 #1839; Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath, *al-Marāsīl*, 279 #380; Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 9:504 #19269; *Shuʿab al-īmān*, 11:112 #8262; al-Ḥusayn ibn Masʿūd al-Baghawī, *Sharḥ al-sunnah*, 11:270 #2819.

Alī said: "Whoever wishes to see someone who most resembles the Messenger of God ﷺ from the neck to the face, let him look at the son of ʿAlī, Ḥasan. Whoever wishes to see someone who most resembles the Messenger of God ﷺ from the neck to the heels, both in terms of creation and color, let him look at the son of ʿAlī, Ḥusayn." [1178]

Ḥasan and Ḥusayn are the masters of the youths of Paradise:

عَنْ أَبِي سَعِيدٍ الخُدْرِيِّ قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: « الحَسَنُ وَالحُسَيْنُ سَيِّدَا شَبَابِ أَهْلِ الجَنَّةِ » .

Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī narrated, saying: The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "Ḥasan and Ḥusayn are the masters of the youths of Paradise." In the narrations of Ibn Mājah, al-Ṭabarānī, and al-Ḥākim, the addition is made: "Their father is better than them." [1179]

This noble ḥadīth has such a number of narrations that it can be said to be *mutawātir* (widely transmitted). It has been narrated from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī in more than twenty sources. Furthermore, it has also been narrated by the following companions: ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar, Abū Hurayrah, Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd, Anas ibn Mālik, Barāʿ ibn ʿĀzib, Usāmah ibn Zayd, Qurrah ibn Iyās al-Muzanī, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās, and Anas ibn Mālik.

The Messenger of God ﷺ used to recite the protective prayer of Ibrāhīm for Ḥasan and Ḥusayn:

[1178] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 2:164 #774; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:774 #1366; Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 6:126 #3779; Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī, *al-Sharīʿah*, 5:2146; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:430 #6974; Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī, *al-Musnad*, 1:84 #132; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh, *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥābah*, 5:307 #1661; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 3:159 #2701.

[1179] Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 6:117 #3768, #3781; Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Mājah, *al-Sunan*, 1:85 #118; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:318 #8113, 7:368 #8240, #8461, #8472, #8473, #8474, #8475; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 17:31 #10999, #11594, #11618, #11777, #23329, #23330; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:411 #6959, #6960; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 2:395 #1169; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 3:61 #2534-2552; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:166 #4778, #4779, #4780, 3:381 #5630.

عَنِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا قَالَ:كَانَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم يُعَوِّذُ الْحَسَنَ وَالْحُسَيْنَ وَيَقُولُ: « إِنَّ أَبَاكُمَا كَانَ يُعَوِّذُ بِهَا إِسْمَاعِيلَ وَإِسْحَاقَ. أَعُوذُ بِكَلِمَاتِ اللهِ التَّامَّةِ، مِنْ كُلِّ شَيْطَانٍ، وَهَامَّةٍ، وَمِنْ كُلِّ عَيْنٍ لاَمَّةٍ. »

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās (and his father) narrated, saying: The Prophet ﷺ used to recite this protective prayer for Ḥasan and Ḥusayn and would say: "Your father (Ibrāhīm) used to protect Ismāʿīl and Isḥāq with this prayer. I protect you with the perfect (complete) words of God from every devil, from every poisonous, deadly animal, and from every harmful eye."[1180] This ḥadīth has also been narrated by ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, their mother Fāṭimah, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd, and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr.

Ḥasan and Ḥusayn are the sweet herbs (*rayhān*) of the Messenger of God ﷺ.

عَنِ ابْنِ أَبِي نُعْمٍ قَالَ:كُنْتُ شَاهِدًا لِابْنِ عُمَرَ، وَسَأَلَهُ رَجُلٌ عَنْ دَمِ الْبَعُوضِ. فَقَالَ: مِمَّنْ أَنْتَ؟ فَقَالَ: مِنْ أَهْلِ الْعِرَاقِ. قَالَ انْظُرُوا إِلَى هَذَا، يَسْأَلُنِي عَنْ دَمِ الْبَعُوضِ، وَقَدْ قَتَلُوا ابْنَ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وسلم. وَسَمِعْتُ النَّبِيَّ صلى الله عليه وسلم يَقُولُ: « هُمَا رَيْحَانَتَايَ مِنَ الدُّنْيَا. »

The narration of Imām Bukhārī: Ibn Abī Nuʿaym said: I am a witness to ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar. A man asked him about the blood of a mosquito. Ibn ʿUmar asked: "Where are you from?" The man replied: "I am from Iraq." Ibn ʿUmar said: "Look at this! They have killed the son of the Prophet ﷺ and he asks me about the blood of a mosquito. I heard from

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[1180] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 4:178 #3371; Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 3:464 #2060; Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath, *al-Sunan*, 4:377 #4739; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 4:20 #2112; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:151 #7679; Ibn Mājah Muḥammad ibn Yazīd, *al-Sunan*, 4:551 #3525; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 8:398 #9841, 10:139 #12105; *al-Muʃam al-awsaṭ*, 5:101 #4793, 5:142 #4899, 9:79 #9183; *al-Muʃam al-ṣaghīr*, 2:31 #727; Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, 7:325 #2885; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3:291 #1012; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 4:304 #1483; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:167 #4781; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Daʿawāt al-kabīr*, 2:314 #528.

the Prophet ﷺ that 'They (Ḥasan and Ḥusayn) are my sweet basil (*rayḥān*) in this world'."[1181] In Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Nihāyah*, the word *rayḥān* is explained as: "*Rayḥān* means mercy, sustenance, and peace; thus, children are likened to *rayḥān*."[1182] Ibn Ḥajar explains the likening of them to rayḥān by stating: "The reason they are likened to *rayḥān* plants is that children are kissed and smelled, just like the fragrant *rayḥān*." [1183] This noble ḥadīth has been narrated through multiple chains by companions such as Anas ibn Mālik, Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, ʿUtbah ibn Ghazwān, and Nufayʿ ibn Masrūḥ al-Thaqafī.

The narration of Anas ibn Mālik in *Tirmidhī*:

أَنَسَ بْنَ مَالِكٍ يَقُولُ: سُئِلَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَيُّ أَهْلِ بَيْتِكَ أَحَبُّ إِلَيْكَ؟ قَالَ: « الحَسَنُ وَالحُسَيْنُ. » وَكَانَ يَقُولُ لِفَاطِمَةَ: «ادْعِي لِيَ ابْنَيَّ، فَيَشُمُّهُمَا وَيَضُمُّهُمَا إِلَيْهِ .»

Anas ibn Mālik said: The Messenger of God ﷺ was asked: "Who is the most beloved to you among your family?" He replied: "Ḥasan and Ḥusayn." He would say to Fāṭimah: "Call my sons to me." When they came, he would embrace them and kiss them. [1184]

When Ḥasan and Ḥusayn would climb onto the back of the Messenger of God ﷺ during prayer, he would say to those who wished to remove them: "Leave them be."

[1181] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 5:33 #3753, 8:8 #5994; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 9:402 #5568; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:317 #8111 #8476; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:418 #6964; Muḥammad ibn ʾĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 6:119 #3770; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 3:286 #1078; Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī, *al-Musnad*, 3:436 #2039; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 10:106 #5739; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 3:209 #2815, 4:212 #3892; Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, Sulamī ed., *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:373 #342.

[1182] Ibn al-Athīr al-Mubārak ibn Muḥammad al-Jazarī, *al-Nihāyah fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa-al-athar*, 2:288.

[1183] Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, 7:99.

[1184] Muḥammad ibn ʾĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 6:121 #3772.

عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ قَالَ: كَانَ الْحَسَنُ وَالْحُسَيْنُ يَثِبَانِ عَلَى ظَهْرِ رَسُولِ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم وَهُوَ يُصَلِّي. فَجَعَلَ النَّاسُ يُنَحُّونَهُمَا. فَقَالَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم : « دَعُوهُمَا بِأَبِي هُمَا وَأُمِّي ، مَنْ أَحَبَّنِي فَلْيُحِبَّ هَذَيْنِ. »

ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd said: The Messenger of God ﷺ was praying when Ḥasan and Ḥusayn would jump onto his back [and play as if they are 'riding' him like a horse'. The people would try to remove them from his back, but the Prophet ﷺ said: "Do not interfere with them. May my father and mother be sacrificed for them, whoever loves me should love them." [1185]

Loving Ḥasan and Ḥusayn is loving the Messenger of God ﷺ:

Narration of Abū Hurayrah:

عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى الله عَلَيْهِ وسَلَّمَ: « مَنْ أَحَبَّ الْحَسَنَ وَالْحُسَيْنَ فَقَدْ أَحَبَّنِي، وَمَنْ أَبْغَضَهُمَا فَقَدْ أَبْغَضَنِي ».

Abū Hurayrah narrated, saying: The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "Whoever loves these (Ḥasan and Ḥusayn) loves me. Whoever makes them angry makes me angry." [1186]

Another narration from Abū Hurayrah:

[1185] Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:318 #8114; Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī, *al-Sharīʿah*, 4:320 #1599; Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī, *al-Musnad*, 4:242 #2624; Muḥammad ibn Khuzaymah, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2:48 #887; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:426 #6970; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 5:26 #5017; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 12:95 #32838; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 3:78 #2578.

[1186] Ibn Mājah Muḥammad ibn Yazīd, *al-Sunan*, 1:101 #143; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 13:260 #7876, 16:506 #10872; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 11:78 #6215; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 3:78 #2579, 2580, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585; *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, 5:102 #4795; Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *al-Adab al-mufrad*, 133 #364; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 16:240 #9410; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:166 #4777; ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, 3:471 #6369.

عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ، قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: » مَنْ أَحَبَّهُمَا فَقَدْ أَحَبَّنِي، وَمَنْ أَبْغَضَهُمَا فَقَدْ أَبْغَضَنِي » يَعْنِي حَسَنًا وَحُسَيْنًا

Abū Hurayrah narrated, saying: The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "Whoever loves these (Ḥasan and Ḥusayn) has loved me, and whoever makes them angry has made me angry." [1187]

Ḥadīth of Abū Bakrah:

عَنْ أَبِي بَكْرَةَ قَالَ: رَأَيْتُ الْحَسَنَ وَالْحُسَيْنَ رضي الله عنهما يثبان على ظهر رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَهُوَ يُصَلِّي. فَيُمْسِكُهُماَ بِيَدِهِ حَتَّى إِذاَ اسْتَقَرَّ عَلَى الأَرْضِ تَرَكَهُمَا. فَلَمَّا صَلَّى أَجْلَسَهُمَا فِي حِجْرِهِ، ثُمَّ مَسَحَ رُءُوسَهُمَا ثُمَّ قَالَ: « إِنَّ ابْنَيَّ هَذَيْنِ رَيْحَانَتَايَ مِنَ الدُّنْيَا. ثُمَّ أَقْبَلَ عَلَى النَّاسِ فَقَالَ: إِنَّ ابْنِي هَذَا سَيِّدٌ. وَأَرْجُو أَنْ يُصْلِحَ اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ بِهِ بَيْنَ فِئَتَيْنِ عَظِيمَتَيْنِ فِي آخِرِ الزَّمَانِ. » قَالَ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ الْحُسَيْنِ: يَعْنِي بِهِ الْحَسَنَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ.

Abū Bakrah (Nufayʿ ibn al-Ḥārith) narrated, saying: The Messenger of God ﷺ saw Ḥasan and Ḥusayn jumping onto his back while he was praying. He was holding them with his hand so that they would not fall. When he [was safely on the ground and] sat in the *taḥīyāt* (sitting position) during prayer, he would release them. When he finished his prayer, he would sit them on his lap and stroke their heads. Then he said: "These two sons of mine are my *rayḥān* (sweet basil) in this world." He then turned to the people and said: "This son of mine is a *sayyid* (master). I hope that in the Last Days, God will use him to reconcile two great groups." Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ajurrī said: He was referring to Ḥasan. [1188]

Abū Hurayrah's ḥadīth:

[1187] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 13:260 #7876, 15:420 #9673, 16:506 #10872; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:771 #1359; Isḥāq ibn Rāhawayh, *al-Musnad*, 1:248 #211; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:317 #8112; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:182 #4777.

[1188] Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī, *al-Sharīʿah*, 4:317 #1597.

عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ قَالَ: كُنَّا نُصَلِّي مَعَ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ الْعِشَاءَ. فَكَانَ يُصَلِّي. فَإِذَا سَجَدَ وَثَبَ الْحَسَنُ وَالْحُسَيْنُ عَلَى ظَهْرِهِ، وَإِذَا رَفَعَ رَأْسَهُ أَخَذَهُمَا فَوَضَعَهُمَا وَضْعًا رَفِيقًا. فَإِذَا عَادَ عَادًا. فَلَمَّا صَلَّى جَعَلَ وَاحِدًا هَاهُنَا وَوَاحِدًا هَاهُنَا. فَجِئْتُهُ فَقُلْتُ: يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ، أَلاَ أَذْهَبُ بِهِمَا إِلَى أُمِّهِمَا؟ قَالَ: لاَ . فَبَرَقَتْ بَرْقَةً، فَقَالَ: الْحَقَا بِأُمِّكُمَا. فَمَا زَالاَ يَمْشِيَانِ فِي ضَوْئِهَا حَتَّى دَخَلاَ.

Abū Hurayrah narrated, saying: We were praying the night prayer with the Messenger of God ﷺ. When he went into prostration, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn would jump onto his back. When he lifted his head from prostration, he would gently place them back on the ground. When he went back into prostration, they would again jump onto his back. This continued until he finished his prayer. Afterward, he placed one of them here (on his right) and the other here (on his left). I said to him: "O, Messenger of God, shall I take them to their mother?" He replied: "No." Just then, a lightning flash struck. He then said to them: "Go to your mother." They walked away, moving toward the house in the light of the flash of lightning. [1189]

Usāmah ibn Zayd's ḥadīth:

The Messenger of God ﷺ used to carry Ḥasan and Ḥusayn on his back together.

سَلَمَةُ بْنُ الأَكْوَعِ قَالَ: لَقَدْ قُدْتُ بِنَبِيِّ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم وَالْحَسَنِ وَالْحُسَيْنِ بَغْلَتَهُ الشَّهْبَاءَ حَتَّى أَدْخَلْتُهُمْ حُجْرَةَ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وسلم. هَذَا قُدَّامَهُ وَهَذَا خَلْفَهُ.

[1189] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 16:386 #10659; Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī, *al-Sharīʿah,* 4:320 #1599, 1603; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 3:86 #2593; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:167 #4787; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubūwah*, 6:76.

Salamah ibn al-Akwaʿ narrated: "I saw the Messenger of God ﷺ riding a white mule with Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, one in front of him and the other behind him, until he brought them into his house."[1190]

The Messenger of God ﷺ his love, compassion, and mercy toward his grandsons:

The incident of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn going missing:

عَنْ سَلْمَانَ قَالَ: «كُنَّا حَوْلَ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. فَجَاءَتْ أُمُّ أَيْمَنَ، فَقَالَتْ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ لَقَدْ ضَلَّ الْحَسَنُ وَالْحُسَيْنُ. قَالَ: وَذَلِكَ رَادَّ النَّهَارِ. يَقُولُ: ارْتِفَاعَ النَّهَارِ. فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: قُومُوا فَاطْلُبُوا ابْنَيَّ. قَالَ: وَأَخَذَ كُلُّ رَجُلٍ تُجَاهَ وَجْهِهِ. وَأَخَذْتُ نَحْوَ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. فَلَمْ يَزَلْ حَتَّى أَتَى سَفْحَ جَبَلٍ، وَإِذَا الْحَسَنُ وَالْحُسَيْنُ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى عَنْهُمَا مُلْتَزِقٌ كُلُّ وَاحِدٍ مِنْهُمَا صَاحِبَهُ. وَإِذَا شُجَاعٌ قَائِمٌ عَلَى ذَنَبِهِ، يَخْرُجُ مِنْ فِيهِ شِبْهُ النَّارِ. فَأَسْرَعَ إِلَيْهِ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، فَالْتَفَتَ مُخَاطِبًا لِرَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، ثُمَّ انْسَابَ فَدَخَلَ بَعْضَ الأَحْجِرَةِ. ثُمَّ أَتَاهُمَا فَأَفْرَقَ بَيْنَهُمَا وَمَسَحَ وَجْهَهُمَا وَقَالَ: بِأَبِي وَأُمِّي أَنْتُمَا مَا أَكْرَمَكُمَا عَلَى اللَّهِ. ثُمَّ حَمَلَ أَحَدَهُمَا عَلَى عَاتِقِهِ الأَيْمَنِ، وَالآخَرَ عَلَى عَاتِقِهِ الأَيْسَرِ. فَقُلْتُ: طُوبَاكُمَا، نِعْمَ الْمَطِيَّةُ مَطِيَّتُكُمَا. فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: وَنِعْمَ الرَّاكِبانِ هُمَا ، وَأَبُوهُمَا خَيْرٌ مِنْهُمَا.»

Salmān al-Fārisī narrated: "We were sitting around the Messenger of God ﷺ when Umm Ayman came and said, 'O, Messenger of God, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn are missing!' It was the middle of the day. The Messenger of God ﷺ said: 'Get up and search for my sons!' Each person went in a different direction to look for them. I searched together with the Prophet ﷺ until we reached the base of a mountain. What did we

[1190] Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 7:130 #6413; Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 4:397 #2775; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 12:436 #5618; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 7:19 #6247.

see? Ḥasan and Ḥusayn clinging tightly to each other, and beside them was a snake with its tail raised as if fire were coming from its mouth. The Messenger of God ﷺ quickly approached it, and the snake turned toward him. Then it fled into the rocks and disappeared. The Messenger of God ﷺ separated them, wiped their faces, and said: 'May my parents be ransomed for you both! How honored you are in the sight of God!' He lifted one onto his right shoulder and the other onto his left. I said, 'How blessed you are! What a noble mount you ride!' The Messenger of God ﷺ replied: 'They are the best of riders, and their father is better than them'." [1191] This ḥadīth is *ḍaʿīf* (weak); there are *majhūl* (unknown) and *ḍaʿīf* (weak) narrators in its chain of transmission.

The Wrestling of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn:

Abū Hurayrah narrated: Ḥasan and Ḥusayn were wrestling in front of the Messenger of God ﷺ. The Messenger of God ﷺ was saying, "Go, Ḥasan!" Fāṭimah said, "Why are you saying, 'Go, Ḥasan'?" He replied, "Because Gabriel is saying, 'Go, Ḥusayn'."[1192] ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās narrated: Ḥasan and Ḥusayn began wrestling in the presence of the Messenger of God ﷺ. He was saying to them, "Go, Ḥasan! Go, Ḥusayn!" ʿĀ'ishah said, "You are supporting the older one!" He replied, "Gabriel is saying, 'Go, Ḥusayn'."[1193] Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad narrated from his father Muḥammad al-Bāqir, who narrated from his grandfather ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib: ʿAlī said: The Messenger of God ﷺ was sitting at a funeral site. Ḥasan and Ḥusayn came forth and began grappling with one another. ʿAlī was also sitting there. The Messenger of God ﷺ said, "Go, Ḥasan!" ʿAlī said, "O, Messenger of God, are you supporting him against Ḥusayn?" He replied, "Gabriel is here, saying, 'Go, Ḥusayn'."[1194]

The Messenger of God Descended from the Minbar (Pulpit) to Take Ḥasan and Ḥusayn in His Arms During a Sermon:

[1191] Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 3:109 #2611.

[1192] Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Mawṣilī, *al-Muʿjam*, 171 #196; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Isfahānī, *Faḍāʾil al-khulafāʾ al-rāshidīn*, 118 #129.

[1193] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá - Mutammim al-ṣaḥābah,* 1:258 #236; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 5:259.

[1194] Ibn Shaḥīn ʿUmar ibn Aḥmad, *Sharḥ mazāhibi ahl al-sunnah*, 275 #173; Ibn Asākir ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 14:164; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 5:277.

عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ بُرَيْدَةَ قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ أَبِي بُرَيْدَةَ يَقُولُ: كَانَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَخْطُبُنَا. إِذْ جَاءَ الحَسَنُ وَالحُسَيْنُ. عَلَيْهِمَا قَمِيصَانِ أَحْمَرَانِ، يَمْشِيَانِ، وَيَعْثُرَانِ. فَنَزَلَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مِنَ الْمِنْبَرِ. فَحَمَلَهُمَا، وَوَضَعَهُمَا بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ، ثُمَّ قَالَ: « صَدَقَ اللَّهُ ﴿ إِنَّمَا أَمْوَالُكُمْ وَأَوْلاَدُكُمْ فِتْنَةٌ ﴾ نَظَرْتُ إِلَى هَذَيْنِ الصَّبِيَّيْنِ، يَمْشِيَانِ وَيَعْثُرَانِ. فَلَمْ أَصْبِرْ، حَتَّى قَطَعْتُ حَدِيثِي وَرَفَعْتُهُمَا. »

ʿAbd Allāh ibn Buraydah said: I heard my father Buraydah recount the following: The Messenger of God ﷺ was delivering a sermon. At that moment, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn entered the mosque, stumbling as they walked, dressed in red garments. The Messenger of God ﷺ descended from the pulpit, lifted them up, and ascended the pulpit with them. He then recited: "Indeed, your wealth and your children are but a trial (*fitnah*)"[1195] and said: "I looked at these two children, stumbling as they walked, and I could not bear it, so I interrupted my speech and picked them up."[1196]

Ḥasan and Ḥusayn Playing with Marbles:

Abū Rāfiʿ said: I used to play marbles with Ḥasan and Ḥusayn.[1197] Salmān Abū Shaddād said: I used to play marbles with Ḥasan and Ḥusayn.[1198] They described the game of marbles as follows: a small hole

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[1195] Q. al-Taghābun, 64:15.

[1196] Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 6:122 #3774; Abū Dāwūd, Sulaymān ibn al-ʿAshʿath, *al-Sunan*, 1:290 #1190; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan* (al-Mujtabá), 3:192 #1585, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 2:309 #1803; Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Mājah, *al-Sunan*, 2:1190 #3600; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 38:99 #22995, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:770 #1358; Muḥammad ibn Khuzaymah, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2:355 #1456; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 13:402 #6038, #6039; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 12:99 #32853; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 1:424 #1059; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 3:218 #6029; Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī, *al-Sharīʿah*, 4:325 #1604.

[1197] Al-Ḥusayn ibn Masʿūd al-Ṣūfī, *Sharḥ al-sunnah*, 10:394.

[1198] ʿAlī Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, Sulamī edition, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:294 #248; Ibn Badrān ʿAbd al-Qādir Badrān, *Tazīb Tārīkh Dimashq*, 4:216; ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Sallābī, *al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib*, 253.

is dug, and the players roll marbles from a distance aiming to get them into the hole. Whoever succeeds wins the game; whoever fails loses. The people of Makkah have been playing this game since ancient times.

The reward for loving Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, and their parents:

مُوسَى بْنُ جَعْفَرِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ. عَنْ أَبِيهِ جَعْفَرِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ. عَنْ أَبِيهِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ. عَنْ أَبِيهِ عَلِيِّ بْنِ الحُسَيْنِ. عَنْ أَبِيهِ. عَنْ جَدِّهِ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ. أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَخَذَ بِيَدِ حَسَنٍ وَحُسَيْنٍ فَقَالَ: « مَنْ أَحَبَّنِي، وَأَحَبَّ هَذَيْنِ وَأَبَاهُمَا، وَأُمَّهُمَا. كَانَ مَعِي فِي دَرَجَتِي يَوْمَ القِيَامَةِ .»

Mūsá al-Kāẓim transmitted from his father Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, who transmitted from his father Muḥammad al-Bāqir, who transmitted from his father ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn (Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn), who transmitted from his father Ḥusayn, who transmitted from his father ʿAlī: The Messenger of God ﷺ took Ḥasan and Ḥusayn by the hand and said: "Whoever loves me, these two, and their mother and father will be with me on the Day of Resurrection, at my rank." [1199]

The Messenger of God ﷺ embraced Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, kissed them, and supplicated for their being loved:

عَنْ يَعْلَى بن مُرَّةَ: أَنَّ حَسَنًا وَحُسَيْنًا أَقْبَلا يَمْشِيَانِ إِلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. فَلَمَّا جَاءَ أَحَدُهُمَا جَعَلَ يَدَهُ فِي عُنُقِهِ، ثُمَّ جَاءَ الآخَرُ فَجَعَلَ يَدَهُ الأُخْرَى فِي عُنُقِهِ. فَقَبَّلَ هَذَا، ثُمَّ قَبَّلَ هَذَا. ثُمَّ قَالَ: « اللَّهُمَّ إِنِّي أُحِبُّهُمَا، فَأَحِبَّهُمَا. أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ، إِنَّ الْوَلَدَ مَبْخَلَةٌ. »

Yaʿlá ibn Murrah transmitted: Ḥasan and Ḥusayn came walking to the Messenger of God ﷺ. When one of them arrived, he wrapped his arm

[1199] Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 6:3733; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 2:17 #576, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:693 #1185; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:317 #8112; Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī, *al-Sharīʿah*, 4:310 #1591; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 3:82 #2588; Abū Bishr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dūlābī, *al-Kuná wa-al-asmāʾ*, 2:444 #796; Diyāʾ al-Maqdisī Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, *al-Aḥādīth al-mukhtārah*, 1:242 #421; ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad ibn Qudāmah al-Maqdisī, *al-Mutaḥabbīn fī Allāh*, 97 #146.

around the Prophet's neck. The other came, and the Prophet embraced him with his other arm. He kissed this one and then that one, and then said: "O, God, I love them, so love them too. O, People, a child makes a person cowardly and miserly." [1200]

He supplicated for God to love Ḥasan and Ḥusayn: Usāmah ibn Zayd said: One night, I knocked on the door of the Messenger of God ﷺ on account of some matter. He came to me, wrapped in something, I did not know what it was. When the matter was finished, I asked: "What is it that you had wrapped up?" When he lifted the covering, I saw that it was Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. He said: "These are the two sons of mine and my daughter. O, God, You know that I love them, so love them too." He repeated this three times. [1201]

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās's respect for and appreciation of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn: Mudrik Abū Ziyād said: We were in the orchard of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās. ʿAbd Allāh came with Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. They walked around the orchard and then sat beside a water channel. Ḥasan said to me: "O, Mudrik, is there any lunch?" I said: "We have baked bread." He said: "Bring that bread." I brought the bread, some ground salt, and two stalks of fava beans (greens). He ate what I had brought and said: "O, Mudrik, how delightful this is." Then lunch was brought, it was abundant and excellent. He said: "O, Mudrik, gather the laborers in the orchard." He offered the meal to them, and he himself did not eat of it. I asked: "Will you not eat?" Referring to what he had already eaten, he said: "My soul desires that more." They stood and performed ablution. I brought Ḥasan's mount. ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās held the stirrup of his mount and helped him mount. Then I brought Ḥusayn's mount. He held its stirrup as well and helped him mount. When they departed, I

[1200] Ibn Mājah Muḥammad ibn Yazīd, *al-Sunan*, 4:633 #3666; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 29:104 #17562, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:772 #1362; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 3:56 #25-23; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 12:97; Muḥammad ibn Ḥārūn al-Rawyānī, *al-Musnad*, 465 #1507; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:179 #4771; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 10:202 #21385.

[1201] Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:459 #8471; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 6:378 #32182; Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī, *al-Sharīʿah*, 5:2149 #1635; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:422 #6967.

said: "You are older than they, yet you hold their stirrups?" He replied: "Do you realize who these are? These are the sons of the Messenger of God ﷺ. To hold their stirrups and help them mount is a blessing that God has granted me." [1202]

ʿUmar's esteem for them and his appreciation of them: When ʿUmar established the *dīwān* (register of public treasury allotments), he determined the shares to be distributed from the *bayt al-māl* (public treasury) to the Companions and other entitled persons. He assessed the shares of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn equal to that of their father.[1203]

The people's love for Ḥasan and Ḥusayn and the attention they received in the Sacred Mosque: Abū Saʿīd said: I saw Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, after praying the afternoon prayer with the imām, approach the Black Stone and touch it, then circumambulate the Kaʿbah seven times, and afterward pray two units of circumambulation prayer. The people said: "These two are the grandsons of the Messenger of God ﷺ." They gathered around them with affection. Ḥasan took the hand of one of their cousins from the descendants of Rukānah. He pushed the people away from Ḥasan and showed him great veneration. [1204]

Fāṭimah requesting inheritance from the Messenger of God ﷺ :

عَنْ فَاطِمَةَ بنتِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: أَنَّهَا أَتَتْ بِالْحَسَنِ وَالْحُسَيْنِ إِلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فِي شَكْوَاهُ الَّذِي تُوُفِّيَ فِيهِ فَقَالَتْ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ! هَذَانِ ابْنَاكَ فَوَرِّثْهُمَا شَيْئًا. فَقَالَ:« أَمَّا الْحَسَنُ فَلَهُ هَيْبَتِي وَسُؤْدُدِي. وَأَمَّا حُسَيْنٌ فَلَهُ جُرْأَتِي وَجُودِي. »

When the Messenger of God ﷺ was suffering from the illness in which he passed away, his daughter Fāṭimah brought Ḥasan and Ḥusayn to him and said: "O, Messenger of God, these two are your sons. Grant

[1202] Ibn ʿAsākir ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 14:69; Muḥammad ibn Mukarram ibn Manẓūr al-Ifriqī, *Mukhtaṣar tārīkh Dimashq*, 2:401.
[1203] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, Sulamī edition, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:392 #360, 361.
[1204] Ibn ʿAsākir ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 13:239 #11806.

them some inheritance." He replied: "Let my grandeur and leadership be for Ḥasan, and let my courage and generosity be for Ḥusayn."[1205]

During the era of the Rightly Guided Caliphs, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn were very young when the Messenger of God ﷺ passed away. At the time of his passing, they were around six or seven years old. Six months later, their mother, Fāṭimah, also passed away. During the two years of Abū Bakr's caliphate, since Ḥasan and Ḥusayn were still young, there is little recorded information about them in the historical texts. When ʿUmar became the caliph, he greatly valued Ḥasan and Ḥusayn and, when the spoils of war were distributed, he allocated shares for them, just as their father had received. According to historical records, ʿUmar even wrote a letter to the governor of Yemen requesting special cloth for them. When ʿUmar's son observed the attention given to Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, he assumed his father might object, so ʿUmar responded by saying to his son: "Be silent; their father is better than your father, and their mother is better than your mother."

Ḥasan and Ḥusayn participated in *jihād* alongside the soldiers. They fought in the conquest of Africa under the command of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Sarḥ. This conquest occurred during the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh years after the hijrah. In the thirtieth year of the hijrah, during the conquest of Tabaristan, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās, Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān, the four ʿAbd Allāhs known as the *ʿIbādillah*, and many other companions participated under the command of Saʿīd ibn al-Āṣ. While the army led by Yazīd, the son of Muʿāwīyah, was besieging Constantinople by sea, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn were also part of this campaign. After the peace treaty with Muʿāwīyah, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn lived in Madīnah. During the Ḥajj season, when Muʿāwīyah would come to Madīnah, they would meet with him. As long as Ḥasan was alive, these meetings and correspondences were held with him.

[1205] Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 16:279 #18474, *al-Muʃam al-awsaṭ*, 6:222; Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī, *al-Sharīʿah*, 4:300 #1583; Aḥmad ibn ʿAmr al-Shaybānī, *al-Āḥād wa-al-mathānī*, 1:392 #408; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī, *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥābah*, 5:338 #1692.

VIRTUES OF ḤASAN

His name is Ḥasan, which means "beautiful." His *kunyah* (honorific epithet) is Abū Muḥammad, meaning "the father of Muḥammad." He is the first child [of his parents]. He is the grandson of the Messenger of God ﷺ and of the Mother of the Believers, Khadījah. He is the sweet basil [fragrance] that the Prophet inhaled in this world. His mother is Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Messenger of God ﷺ. He was born in Madīnah in the month of Shaʿbān in the third year after the hijrah.

The name Ḥasan was given to him by the Messenger of God ﷺ: ʿAlī said: When Ḥasan was born, I named him Ḥarb (war). The Prophet ﷺ came to our house and said, "Show me my son." He asked, "What name have you given him?" We said, "We named him Ḥarb." He said, "No, his name is Ḥasan." ʿAlī continued: When Ḥusayn was born, I also named him Ḥarb. The Prophet ﷺ came to our house and said, "Show me my son." He asked, "What name have you given him?" We said, "We named him Ḥarb." He said, "No, he is Ḥusayn." A third son was born. I named him Ḥarb as well. [The Prophet said,] "No, he is Muḥassin." The Messenger of God ﷺ was greatly pleased with this blessed birth, and the Companions immediately offered their congratulations. [TN: According to the sources of the Ahl al-Bayt, the correct name is Muḥsin. He was named by the Prophet while Fāṭimah was still pregnant, but on the night of the Prophet's death, Fāṭimah suffered blunt force trauma to her abdomen and the fetus aborted.]

From this, we understand that the Messenger of God ﷺ did not wish to use the names given by the Arabs to their children during the *jāhilīyah* [pre-Islam]. It is also known that he changed some unpleasant names. During the *jāhilīyah* [pre-Islam], Arabs gave their children names like "Stone," "Rock," and "Cave," or the names of animals such as "Wolf," "Dog," "Snake," etc. For example: Dhi'b (wolf), Kalb (dog), Thaʿlab (fox), Kabish (ram), Asad (lion), Ḥimār (donkey), Jaḥsh (young donkey).

ʿAlī's mother was Fāṭimah bint Asad, meaning "Fāṭimah, daughter of the lion." His wife (his cousin) was Zaynab bint Jaḥsh, meaning "Zaynab, daughter of the young donkey." The Yemeni Companion ʿIyāḍ ibn Ḥimār, meaning " ʿIyāḍ, son of the donkey." The real name of Abū Sufyān was Ṣakhr, meaning "Boulder." Marwān also conveys a similar meaning. Muʿāwiyah means "little barking dog." ʿUthmān means

"baby snake." Even in Turkish today, names such as Aslan (lion), Kaplan (tiger), and Kaya (rock) are still used. Scholars have stated that names have an effect on individuals. It has been observed in some cases that a person named Ṣādiq or Ṣiddīq (truthful) will hardly ever lie. For this reason, the Messenger of God ﷺ commanded parents to give their children good names. He especially recommended names that include servitude to God, alongside His beautiful names. Scholars have stated that the most virtuous names are those like ʿAbd Allāh, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and ʿAbd al-Raḥīm.

The Messenger of God ﷺ recited the *adhān* (call to prayer) in Ḥasan's right ear and the *iqāmah* (announcement of prayer) in his left ear. The son of Abū Rāfiʿ narrated from his father, who said: When Fāṭimah gave birth to Ḥasan, I saw the Messenger of God ﷺ reciting the *adhān* into both of his ears.[1206]

The Messenger of God ﷺ Performed *taḥnīk* for Ḥasan. The Mother of the Believers ʿĀ'ishah narrated: People would bring their infants to the Prophet ﷺ. He would touch them, supplicate for them, and perform *taḥnīk* for them. [1207]

Definition of *Taḥnīk*: Lexicographers have defined *taḥnīk* as follows: A virtuous person chews a date or something similarly sweet, and then places it on the infant's palate. The infant then slowly sucks on it. [1208] If possible, this should be done after the call to prayer is recited into the infant's ear.

Ḥasan's Hair Was Shaved: Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq narrated from his father Muḥammad al-Bāqir: On the seventh day after the births of Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, Zaynab, and Umm Kulthūm, Fāṭimah shaved their hair and gave in charity silver equal to its weight. [1209]

[1206] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 39:297 #23869; Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath, *al-Sunan*, 4:328 #5105; Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 3:149 #1514.

[1207] Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 1:237 #286.

[1208] Yaḥyá ibn Sharaf al-Nawawī, *al-Minhāj sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj*, 1:462.

[1209] Mālik ibn Anas, *al-Muwaṭṭa'*, 3:716 #1840; Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath, *al-Marāsīl*, 279 #380; Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 9:504 #19269; *Shuʿab al-īmān*, 11:112 #8262; al-Ḥusayn ibn Masʿūd al-Baghawī, *Sharḥ al-sunnah*, 11:270 #2819; ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Baghawī, *Muʿjam al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:6; Abū Bishr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dūlābī, *Al-Dhurrīyah al-ṭāhirah*, 171 #140.

An *ʿAqīqah* Sacrifice Was Offered for Ḥasan: When Ḥasan was born, the Messenger of God ﷺ offered a ram as an *ʿaqīqah* sacrifice for him. When Ḥusayn was born, he offered another ram for him as well.[1210] In some reports, he sacrificed two rams for each of them. [1211]

In the pre-Islamic era, people would smear the blood of the *ʿaqīqah* animal on the newborn's head, but Islam forbade this. Buraydah ibn al-Ḥāṣīb narrated: He said: In the pre-Islamic era, when one of us had a child, he would slaughter a sheep and smear its blood on the child's head. After Islam came, we would slaughter a sheep, shave

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[1210] This ḥadīth has been narrated by many Companions. For those by Buraydah ibn al-Ḥaṣīb, see: Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 38:109 #23001, 28:160 #23058; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 4:370 #4524, *al-Mujtabá*, 7:164 #4213. By ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās: Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath, *al-Sunan*, 3:107 #2841; Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, 3:66 #1039; Ibn al-Jārūd, al-*Muntaqá*, 229 #911, 912; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 3:28 #2567, 2568, 2569, *al-Awsaṭ*, #8014; Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 9:503 #19267. For those by Anas ibn Mālik: Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, 3:66 #1038; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 12:125 #5309; Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 9:504 #19268; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 13:466 #7252; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Mawṣilī, *al-Muʿjam*, 141 #152; *al-Musnad*, 3:441 #1933, 5:323 #2945. For those by Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh: Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 8:324 #18018; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Mawṣilī, *al-Musnad*, 3:441 #1933; Ibn al-Jārūd, *al-Muntaqá*, 229 #911; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, 7:12 #6708, *al-Muʿjam al-ṣaghīr*, 2:122 #991; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 7:304 #36306. For those by ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib: Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 3:151 #1519; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 3:29 #2571, 2572. For those by ʿĀʾishah: Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 9:510 #19294; Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, 3:74 #1051; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 12:127 #5311; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Mawṣilī, al-Musnad, 8:17 #4521. For those by ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ: Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 4:265 #7590.

[1211] Abū Dāwūd, *al-Sunan*, 4:461 #2841; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 4:370 #4524; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 5:355 #23051; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 13:466 #7252; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 3:441 #1933, 5:323 #2945; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 12:129 #5313; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 4:265 #7590; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 3:49 #2503-2513; *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, 7:12 #6708; *al-Muʿjam al-ṣaghīr*, 2:122 #891.

the child's head, and anoint it with saffron.[1212] Unfortunately, this practice from the age of ignorance still persists. Some people still smear the blood of the sacrificed animal on the forehead of the person for whom the sacrifice is made. This must be discontinued.

Ḥasan's Wet Nurse: Although some reports mention that Lubābah, also known as Umm al-Faḍl, the wife of al-ʿAbbās, nursed Ḥasan, it is more chronologically accurate that she nursed Ḥusayn. This will be discussed in the accounts concerning Ḥusayn.

Ḥasan's Wives: We have been able to identify the following among Ḥasan's wives [throughout his lifetime, not all at once]:

Khawlah, daughter of Manẓūr from the Fizārah tribe.
Jaʿdah, daughter of al-Ashʿath ibn al-Qays.
ʿĀ'ishah from the Banū Khathʿam.
Umm Isḥāq, daughter of Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allāh.
Umm Bashīr, daughter of Abū Masʿūd al-Badrī al-Anṣārī.
Hind, daughter of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, son of Abū Bakr.
Umm Kulthūm, daughter of Faḍl, son of al-ʿAbbās.
Umm ʿAbd Allāh, daughter of Shulayl, son of ʿAbd Allāh, brother of Jarīr ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Bajalī.

Unnamed wives include:

A woman from the Thaqīf tribe.
A woman from the clan of ʿAmr ibn Uhaym al-Minqarī.
A woman from the Banū Shaybān.

As can be seen, the number of wives (if these reports are accurate) was eleven. Rumors that he married seventy, ninety, or even more than one hundred women are absolutely false and fabricated by those who bore animosity towards Ḥasan.

Information concerning the two wives whom Ḥasan married: Marriage to Umm Ishāq: When Ḥasan asked Ṭalḥah's son Isḥāq for his sister's hand in marriage, he said to him, "I have come to you with a request, you will not reject me." Isḥāq asked, "What is your request?" Ḥasan said, "You will give your sister to me." Isḥāq replied, Muʿāwiyah

[1212] Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath, *al-Sunan*, 3:107 #2843; Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 9:509 #19288.

has written to me. He requested her for his son Yazīd." Ḥasan said, "Do not reject me, I have come to you. Marry her to me." Isḥāq then married her to him. Ḥasan sent her garments and consummated the marriage. When Muʿāwiyah heard about this, he wrote a letter to Marwān, the governor of Madīnah: "Ask the girl, does she prefer Ḥasan or my son Yazīd?" They asked the girl, and she chose Ḥasan. After Ḥasan's death, Ḥusayn married her.[1213] Marriage to Ḥawlah bint Manẓūr: Ibn Abī Mulaykah narrated: Ḥasan married Ḥawlah, the daughter of Manẓūr. One night, they slept on the roof. Ḥawlah tied one end of her headscarf to Ḥasan's foot, and the other end to the anklet on her own foot. Ḥasan woke up during the night and, finding himself tied, asked, "What is this?" Ḥawlah replied, "I feared that you might wake up in your sleep and fall. If that happened, I would be the most ill-fated woman among the Arabs." Because of this, Ḥasan loved her. He remained with her for seven days.[1214] ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar said, "We have not seen Muḥammad's father (i.e., Ḥasan) for some days. Let us go to him." He went with a few others to visit Ḥasan. His new wife Ḥawlah said to Ḥasan, "Delay them so that you may offer them lunch." Ḥasan said, "Very well." ʿAbd Allāh said, "Ḥasan spoke to us in a manner that pleased us and drew our attention. Then the food came, and we ate."[1215]

The Descendants of Ḥasan: Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, in his *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá* recorded the following among Ḥasan's sons:[1216]

1. ʿAbd Allāh – His mother was an *umm walad* (slave concubine).[1217] Her name was Buqaylah. (He was martyred at Karbalāʾ alongside Ḥusayn.)
2. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān – His mother was an *umm walad*. Her name was Zamʿah. (He was martyred at Karbalāʾ alongside Ḥusayn.)

[1213] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, Sulamī edition, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:291 #245; Muṣʿab ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 8:282.

[1214] According to Islamic jurisprudence: A man who marries more than one wife should spend the first seven days and nights with a virgin bride. If he marries a widow, he spends three days and nights with her. Thereafter, fairness requires that he spend one night with each wife in turn.

[1215] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, Sulamī edition, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:307 #264; Ibn ʿAsākir ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 7:27.

[1216] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá* (The Fifth Generation, the missing chains) ed. Muḥammad ibn Ṣāmil al-Sulamī (Ṭāʾif: Maktabat al-Ṣiddīq, n.d.) 1:226.

[1217] A concubine who gives birth to a child is called *umm walad*.

3. Jaʿfar – His mother was Umm Kulthūm, daughter of Faḍl ibn al-ʿAbbās.
4. Abū Bakr – His mother was an *umm walad*. Her name was Buqaylah. (He was martyred at Karbalāʾ alongside Ḥusayn.)
5. Ḥamzah – His mother was Umm Kulthūm, daughter of Faḍl ibn al-ʿAbbās.
6. Ḥasan – His mother was Ḥawlah, daughter of Manẓūr.
7. Ḥusayn al-Athram – His mother was an *umm walad*. Her name was Zamʿah. (He was martyred at Karbalāʾ alongside Ḥusayn.)
8. Ismāʿīl – His mother was Jaʿdah, daughter of al-Ashʿath ibn Qays.
9. Qāsim – His mother was an *umm walad*. Her name was Buqaylah. (He was martyred at Karbalāʾ alongside Ḥusayn.)
10. Muḥammad al-Akbar (the elder Muḥammad) – His mother was Ḥawlah, daughter of Manẓūr.
11. Muḥammad al-Aṣghar (the younger Muḥammad) – His mother was Umm Kulthūm, daughter of Faḍl ibn al-ʿAbbās.
12. ʿUmar – His mother was an *umm walad*. Her name was Ṣafīyah.
13. Ṭalḥah – His mother was Umm Isḥāq, daughter of Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allāh.
14. Yaʿqūb – His mother was Jaʿdah, daughter of al-Ashʿath ibn Qays.
15. Zayd – His mother was Umm Bashīr, daughter of ʿUqbah ibn ʿAmr Abū Masʿūd al-Badrī.

Daughters:

1. Fāṭimah – Her mother was Umm Kulthūm, daughter of Faḍl ibn al-ʿAbbās.
2. Ruqayyah – Her mother's name is unknown.
3. Umm ʿAbd Allāh – Her mother was an *umm walad*. Her name was Ṣafīyah.
4. Umm Salamah – Her mother was an *umm walad*. Her name was Zamʿah.
5. Umm al-Ḥasan – Her mother was Umm Bashīr, daughter of ʿUqbah ibn ʿAmr Abū Masʿūd al-Badrī.
6. Umm al-Khayr – Her mother was Umm Bashīr, daughter of ʿUqbah ibn ʿAmr Abū Masʿūd al-Badrī.
7. Umm al-Ḥusayn Ramlah – Her mother's name is unknown.

Ḥasan had fifteen sons and seven daughters. Among his sons, only Ḥasan and Zayd had descendants. Among his daughters, only Umm ʿAbd Allāh's line continued. Ḥasan's mother was Ḥawlah, daughter of Manẓūr. Zayd's mother was Umm Bashīr, daughter of Abū Masʿūd al-Badrī al-Anṣārī. Among his sons, the line of Ḥasan al-Muthanná (Ḥasan the Second) continued through five of his sons. As for Zayd, his line continued through his son Ḥasan.

Ḥasan's status in the sight of the Messenger of God ﷺ: The Messenger of God ﷺ rejoiced greatly at his birth. As has been mentioned, he sacrificed a ram in celebration. He would carry him on his back, jest with him, and play with him. He would invite him to climb upon his chest. He grew up in his grandfather's lap, under his protection and care. He was likened to his grandfather. He held a lofty station in his grandfather's eyes. The ḥadīths that will be presented serve as proof of what we have said.

The ḥadīths that express the Messenger of God's love and compassion for Ḥasan ﷺ:

The ḥadīth of al-Barāʾ ibn ʿĀzib:

الْبَرَاءَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ قَالَ: رَأَيْتُ النَّبِيَّ صلى الله عليه وسلم وَالْحَسَنُ عَلَى عَاتِقِهِ يَقُولُ:«اللَّهُمَّ إِنِّي أُحِبُّهُ، فَأَحِبَّهُ. »

Al-Barāʾ ibn ʿĀzib transmitted the following: He said, "I saw the Prophet ﷺ with Ḥasan, the son of ʿAlī, upon his shoulder. He was saying: 'O, God, I love him, so You love him too'." [1218]

The ḥadīth of Abū Hurayrah:

عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ قَالَ: خَرَجْتُ مَعَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم فِي طَائِفَةٍ مِنَ النَّهَارِ لاَ يُكَلِّمُنِي وَلاَ أُكَلِّمُهُ حَتَّى جَاءَ سُوقَ بَنِي قَيْنُقَاعَ. ثُمَّ انْصَرَفَ حَتَّى أَتَى خِبَاءَ فَاطِمَةَ فَقَالَ:« أَثَمَّ لُكَعُ أَثَمَّ لُكَعُ ».يَعْنِي حَسَنًا ، فَظَنَنَّا أَنَّهُ إِنَّمَا تَحْبِسُهُ

[1218] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 5:33 #3749; Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 7:130 #6411, 6412.

أُمُّهُ لأَنْ تُغَسِّلَهُ وَتُلْبِسَهُ سِخَابًا. فَلَمْ يَلْبَثْ أَنْ جَاءَ يَسْعَى، حَتَّى اعْتَنَقَ كُلُّ وَاحِدٍ مِنْهُمَا صَاحِبَهُ. فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم: « اللَّهُمَّ إِنِّي أُحِبُّهُ فَأَحِبَّهُ وَأَحْبِبْ مَنْ يُحِبُّهُ ».

Abū Hurayrah transmitted the following: He said: "One day, during the daytime, I went out with the Messenger of God ﷺ. Neither did I speak to him, nor did he speak to me, until we reached the market of the Banū Qaynuqāʿ. From there, he went to the house of Fāṭimah. Ḥasan was not in sight. He asked, 'Where is the little one?' We assumed that either he was being bathed or dressed. Soon after, he came running. They embraced one another. Then the Messenger of God ﷺ said: 'O, God, I love him, so You love him. And love whoever loves him.' Abū Hurayrah said: 'Whenever I saw him, my eyes would fill with tears'." [1219] This ḥadīth was transmitted by many Companions and in numerous sources. Since it is agreed upon (*muttafaq ʿalayh*), we have contented ourselves with the versions narrated by al-Bukhārī and Muslim.

The ḥadīth of Zuhayr ibn al-Aqmar:

عَنْ زُهَيْرِ بْنِ الأَقْمَرِ– رَجُلٍ مِنْ بَنِي بَكْرِ بْنِ وَائِلٍ – قَالَ: لَمَّا قُتِلَ عَلِيٌّ، قَامَ الْحَسَنُ يَخْطُبُ النَّاسَ. فَقَامَ رَجُلٌ مِنْ أَزْدِ شَنُوءَةَ فَقَالَ: أَشْهَدُ لَقَدْ رَأَيْتُ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَاضِعَهُ فِي حَبْوَتِهِ وَهُوَ يَقُولُ: « مَنْ أَحَبَّنِي فَلْيُحِبَّهُ، وَلْيُبَلِّغِ الشَّاهِدُ الْغَائِبَ .» وَلَوْلاَ كَرَامَةُ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَا حَدَّثْتُ بِهِ أَبَدًا.

Zuhayr ibn al-Aqmar of the Bakr ibn Wā'il tribe said: "When ʿAlī was killed, Ḥasan stood up and delivered a sermon. A man from the Azd tribe stood up and testified: 'I bear witness that while Ḥasan was in the arms of the Messenger of God ﷺ he said: "Whoever loves me should love him (Ḥasan). Let those who hear this message

[1219] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 7:204 #5884; Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 7:129 #6409, 6410.

convey it to those who have not".' Had it not been for this stern warning from the Messenger of God, I would not have narrated this to you." [1220]

The Messenger of God ﷺ seating Ḥasan on his lap:

عَنْ أُسَامَةَ بْنِ زَيْدٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا:كَانَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم يَأْخُذُنِي، فَيُقْعِدُنِي عَلَى فَخِذِهِ، وَيُقْعِدُ الْحَسَنَ عَلَى فَخِذِهِ الأُخْرَى. ثُمَّ يَضُمُّهُمَا، ثُمَّ يَقُولُ: « اللَّهُمَّ ارْحَمْهُمَا فَإِنِّي أَرْحَمُهُمَا .»

Usāmah ibn Zayd (and his father) reported: The Messenger of God ﷺ would seat me on one of his thighs and Ḥasan on the other, saying: "O, God, I show mercy to them, so show mercy to them as well." [1221]

The Messenger of God ﷺ kissing Ḥasan:

أَنَّ أَبَا هُرَيْرَةَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ قَالَ: قَبَّلَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم الْحَسَنَ بْنَ عَلِيٍّ وَعِنْدَهُ الأَقْرَعُ بْنُ حَابِسٍ التَّمِيمِيُّ جَالِسًا. فَقَالَ الأَقْرَعُ: إِنَّ لِي عَشَرَةً مِنَ الْوَلَدِ مَا قَبَّلْتُ مِنْهُمْ أَحَدًا. فَنَظَرَ إِلَيْهِ رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم ثُمَّ قَالَ: « مَنْ لاَ يَرْحَمُ لاَ يُرْحَمُ. »

Abū Hurayrah reported: al-Aqraʿ ibn Ḥābis al-Tamīmī was sitting with the Messenger of God ﷺ. The Messenger of God ﷺ kissed Ḥasan. Al-Aqraʿ said: "I have ten sons, but I have never kissed any of them." The Messenger of God ﷺ looked at him and said: "Those who do not show mercy will not be shown mercy." [1222] This ḥadīth has been narrated in many sources. Since it is agreed upon, we suffice with the narration from al-Bukhārī and Muslim.

[1220] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 38:192 #23106; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:780 #1387; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 12:99 #32852; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī, *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥābah*, 21:478 #6588; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:173 #4806.

[1221] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 8:10 #6003; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 36:122 #21787; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:323 #8128, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah,* 81; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:415 #6961; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Ādāb*, 1:19 #15.

[1222] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 8:8 #5997; Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 7:77 #6170.

The Messenger of God ﷺ had kissed Ḥasan's navel:

عَنْ عُمَيْرِ بْنِ إِسْحَاق قَالَ: كُنْتُ مَعَ الْحَسَنِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ، فَلَقِيَنَا أَبُو هُرَيْرَةَ فَقَالَ: « أَرِنِي أُقَبِّلْ مِنْكَ حَيْثُ رَأَيْتُ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يُقَبِّلُ. قَالَ: فَقَالَ بِقَمِيصِهِ. قَالَ: فَقَبَّلَ سُرَّتَهُ. »

ʿUmayr ibn Isḥāq reported: I was with Ḥasan, the son of ʿAlī. We encountered Abū Hurayrah. He said: "Show me the place where you saw the Messenger of God ﷺ kiss his body, so that I may kiss it." Ḥasan uncovered his stomach, and he kissed his navel. [1223]

Ḥasan resembled the Messenger of God ﷺ more than anyone.

The ḥadīth of ʿUqbah ibn al-Ḥārith:

عَنْ عُقْبَةَ بْنِ الْحَارِثِ قَالَ: صَلَّى أَبُو بَكْرٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ الْعَصْرَ، ثُمَّ خَرَجَ يَمْشِي فَرَأَى الْحَسَنَ يَلْعَبُ مَعَ الصِّبْيَانِ، فَحَمَلَهُ عَلَى عَاتِقِهِ وَقَالَ: « بِأَبِي شَبِيهٌ بِالنَّبِيِّ لاَ شَبِيهٌ بِعَلِيٍّ، وَعَلِيٌّ يَضْحَكُ« .

ʿUqbah ibn al-Ḥārith said: Abū Bakr performed the afternoon prayer. While walking outside, he saw Ḥasan playing with the children. He lifted him onto his shoulder and said: "My father be sacrificed for you, you resemble not ʿAlī but the Prophet." ʿAlī was also laughing. [1224]

The ḥadīth of Anas ibn Mālik:

أَنَسٌ قَالَ: « لَمْ يَكُنْ أَحَدٌ أَشْبَهَ بِالنَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وسلم مِنَ الْحَسَنِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ ».

[1223] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 12:427 #7462; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:777 #1375; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:420 #6965; Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, 4:414 #1712; Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī, *al-Sharīʿah*, 4:332 #1610; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:168 #4785; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 2:232 #3372.

[1224] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 4:227 #3542; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 1:41 #38; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:168 #4784.

Anas ibn Mālik said: There was no one who resembled the Prophet ﷺ as much as ʿAlī's son Ḥasan.[1225]

Ibn Abī Mulaykah's narration:

عَنِ ابْنِ أَبِي مُلَيْكَةَ قَالَ: كَانَتْ فَاطِمَةُ تَنْقُزُ الْحَسَنَ بْنَ عَلِيٍّ وَتَقُولُ: «بِأَبِي شَبَهُ النَّبِيِّ – لَيْسَ شَبِيهًا بِعَلِيٍّ ».

Ibn Abī Mulaykah said: Fāṭimah would lift up Ḥasan and say: "My son resembles not ʿAlī, but the Messenger of God ﷺ." [1226]

ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr's narration:

Zubayr's freed slave, Bahīy, narrated that we were discussing who from the family of the Prophet ﷺ resembled the Messenger of God ﷺ. At that moment, ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr came and said: "Let me tell you who most resembles him and whom he loved the most. He loved ʿAlī's son, Ḥasan, the most. For when Ḥasan came, the Messenger of God ﷺ would bow down in prostration and would ride on his neck or back. He would not come down until Ḥasan had finished. I also saw that when he was in *rukūʿ* [bowing], Ḥasan would come, and the Messenger of God ﷺ would spread his legs to let him pass through. Ḥasan would enter from one side and exit from the other side." [1227] Additionally, this ḥadīth has been narrated by companions such as ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, Abū Juḥayfah Wahb ibn Wahb al-Suwāʾī, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās, and Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh.

The Messenger of God ﷺ used to let Ḥasan ride on his back during prayer.

[1225] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 5:33 #3752; Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 6:124 #3776; ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, 11:453 #20984; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 20:108 #12674; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:774 #1369; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:430 #6973; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:184 #4787; al-Ḥusayn ibn Masʿūd al-Baghawī, *Sharḥ al-sunnah*, 14:133 #3931; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Shuʿab al-īmān*, 13:383 #1051.

[1226] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 44:20 #26422.

[1227] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:249.

عَنْ أَبِي بَكْرَةَ قَالَ: « صَلَّى رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم. فَجَاءَ الْحَسَنُ فَرَكِبَ عَلَى ظَهْرِهِ، فَوَضَعَهُ وَضْعًا رَفِيقًا. فَلَمَّا فَرَغَ مِنْ صَلاَتِهِ ضَمَّهُ إِلَيْهِ وَقَبَّلَهُ. فَقَالُوا : يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ ، صَنَعْتَ بِالْحَسَنِ شَيْئًا لَمْ تَكُنْ تَصْنَعُهُ. فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم: إِنَّ ابْنِي هَذَا سَيِّدٌ، سَيُصْلِحُ اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ بِهِ بَيْنَ فِئَتَيْنِ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ. »

Abū Bakrah (Nufayʿ ibn al-Ḥārith) narrated: The Messenger of God ﷺ prayed. Ḥasan came and climbed onto his back. The Prophet ﷺ gently seated him on the ground. When he finished his prayer, he embraced him and kissed him. Those present said: "O, Messenger of God, you have done something now with Ḥasan that you have never done before." The Messenger of God ﷺ replied: "This son of mine is a *sayyid* [leader]. The Mighty and Majestic God will reconcile two groups of Muslims through him." [1228]

Ḥasan is a *Sayyid* (leader, master) in both this world and the Hereafter: The Messenger of God ﷺ repeatedly declared, in various places, in front of the people, that Ḥasan was a Sayyid (a leader).

This ḥadīth, narrated by many Companions such as ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd, Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh, Anas ibn Mālik, ʿUsāmah ibn Zayd, Qurrah ibn ʿIyās, Mālik ibn Ḥuwayrith, Barā' ibn ʿĀzib, and Abū Hurayrah, is a *mutawātir* (widely transmitted) ḥadīth. This ḥadīth represents an important aspect of Ḥasan's noble character. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr stated in his book *al-Istīʿāb* that this narration is *mutawātir*. [1229]

Narrations about God reconciling two groups of Muslims through him:

[1228] Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī, *al-Musnad*, 2:85 #915; Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī, *al-Sharīʿah*, 4:318 #1598.

[1229] Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb*, 1:437.

عَنْ أَبِي بَكْرَةَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ: أَخْرَجَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم ذَاتَ يَوْمٍ الْحَسَنَ، فَصَعِدَ بِهِ عَلَى الْمِنْبَرِ فَقَالَ: « ابْنِي هَذَا سَيِّدٌ ، وَلَعَلَّ اللَّهَ أَنْ يُصْلِحَ بِهِ بَيْنَ فِئَتَيْنِ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِين ».

Abū Bakrah (Nufayʿ ibn al-Ḥārith) said: One day, the Prophet ﷺ brought Ḥasan out. He ascended the minbar (pulpit) with him and said: "This son of mine is a *sayyid* [leader]. It is hoped that God will reconcile two groups of Muslims through him." [1230]

Ḥasan Narrated Ḥadīth: Ḥasan narrated directly from his grandfather, the Messenger of God ﷺ, as well as from his father, ʿAlī, and his mother, Fāṭimah. Ḥadīths narrated by Ḥasan:

The Ḥadīth of the Qunūt Duʿāʾ:

قَالَ الحَسَنُ بْنُ عَلِيٍّ: « عَلَّمَنِي رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ كَلِمَاتٍ أَقُولُهُنَّ فِي الوِتْرِ: اللَّهُمَّ اهْدِنِي فِيمَنْ هَدَيْتَ، وَعَافِنِي فِيمَنْ عَافَيْتَ، وَتَوَلَّنِي فِيمَنْ تَوَلَّيْتَ، وَبَارِكْ لِي فِيمَا أَعْطَيْتَ، وَقِنِي شَرَّ مَا قَضَيْتَ، فَإِنَّكَ تَقْضِي وَلاَ يُقْضَى عَلَيْكَ، وَإِنَّهُ لاَ يَذِلُّ مَنْ وَالَيْتَ، تَبَارَكْتَ رَبَّنَا وَتَعَالَيْتَ. »

The son of ʿAlī, Ḥasan, said: "The Messenger of God ﷺ taught me a prayer, which I recite in my *witr* [a recommended optional prayer]. 'O, God, guide me along with those You have guided. Grant me well-being along with those You have granted well-being. Take me as a protector (friend) along with those You have taken as protectors. Bless what You have given us. Protect us from the evil of what You have decreed. Surely, You are the One who decrees, and no one can decree anything

[1230] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 3:243 #2704, 4:249 #3629, 5:32 #3746, 9:71 #7109; Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 5:658 #3773; Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath, *al-Sunan*, 4:349 #4664; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan*, 3:107 #1410; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 5:37 #20408, 5:49 #20517; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:418 #6964; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 9:109 #3656, #3657; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:191 #4809. This ḥadīth is transmitted in 98 isnāds across various ḥadīth collections.

against You. Those You take as protectors will not be humiliated. Our Lord, You are blessed and exalted'."[1231]

The Ḥadīth of Abū al-Ḥawrāʾ:

عَنْ أَبِي الحَوْرَاءِ السَّعْدِيِّ قَالَ: قُلْتُ لِلْحَسَنِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ: مَا حَفِظْتَ مِنْ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ ؟ قَالَ: حَفِظْتُ مِنْ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: « دَعْ مَا يَرِيبُكَ إِلَى مَا لاَ يَرِيبُكَ. فَإِنَّ الصِّدْقَ طُمَأْنِينَةٌ ، وَإِنَّ الكَذِبَ رِيبَةٌ. »

Abū al-Ḥawrāʾ (Rabīʿah ibn Shaybān) al-Saʿdī said: I asked the son of ʿAlī, Ḥasan, what he had learned from the Messenger of God ﷺ. He said: "I learned this from the Messenger of God ﷺ: leave what is doubtful, and do what is not doubtful. Truth is peace of mind, while lying is doubt'."[1232]

The Gift to Be Presented to a Fasting Person Who Is Visiting:

عَنِ الحَسَنِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: « تُحْفَةُ الصَّائِمِ الدُّهْنُ وَالمِجْمَرُ .»

Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī narrated, saying: The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "The gift to be given to a fasting person who visits you is: (scented) oil, (rose or agarwood oil), and a censer (a device used for burning incense such as

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[1231] Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath, *al-Sunan*, 1:536 #1427; Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 1:587 #464; Ibn Mājah Muḥammad ibn Yazīd, *al-Sunan*, 2:252 #1178; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 3:245 #1718, 3:245 #1723; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 2:171 #1446, 2:171 #1447; *al-Mujtabá*, 3:248 #1745, 3:248 #1746; Ibn Khuzaymah, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2:151 #1095, 2:151 #1096; Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3:225 #945; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 4:176 #1337; Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī, *al-Musnad*, 2:499 #1275; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 12:136 #6765; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:172 #480.

[1232] Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 4:249 #2518; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 3:248 #1723; ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, 3:117 #4984; ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dāramī, *al-Sunan*, 2:319 #2532; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 3:239 #5220; *al-Mujtabá*, 8:327 #5711; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2:498 #722; Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī, *al-Musnad*, 2:313 #1274; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 2:15 #2169, 2:15 #2170; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 3:75 #2708, 3:76 #2711; al-Ḥusayn ibn Masʿūd al-Baghawī, *Sharḥ al-sunnah*, 8:16 #2032.

agarwood)."[1233] This ḥadīth is considered weak due to Saʿd ibn Ṭarīf. The narration from al-Bazzār is more detailed, but we have relied on the narration of al-Tirmidhī.

The Ḥadīth of Deception in War:

عَنِ الْحَسَنِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنْهُ قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: « الْحَرْبُ خَدْعَةٌ .»

Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī narrated, saying: The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "War is deception." [1234] In fact, this ḥadīth is *mutawātir*. It has been narrated by over fifteen Companions and is found in more than two hundred sources. We have only taken the narration from Ḥasan.

The Ḥadīth of Praying in Your Home:

الْحَسَنَ بْنَ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم: « صَلُّوا فِي بُيُوتِكُمْ. لاَتَتَّخِذُوهَا قُبُورًا. وَلاَ تَتَّخِذُوا بَيْتِي عِيدًا. صَلُّوا عَلَيَّ وَسَلِّمُوا، فَإِنَّ صَلاَتَكُمْ وَسَلاَمَكُمْ يَبْلُغُنِي أَيْنَمَا كُنْتُمْ . »

Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī said: The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "Pray in your homes. Do not make your homes like graves. Do not make my house a place of celebration. Send prayers and peace upon me. Wherever you may be, your prayers and peace will reach me."[1235] This ḥadīth, which is agreed upon (*muttafaq ʿalayh*), has been narrated by many Companions. We found the narration of Ḥasan only in the *Musnad* of Abū Yaʿlá. The recommendation to pray in homes applies to voluntary prayers (*nawāfil*). There are many authentic narrations regarding the performance of

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[1233] Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 2:156 #801; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 6:171 #6763; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 4:173 #1335; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 3:149 #2685; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Shuʿab al-īmān*, 5:430 #3673.

[1234] Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 4:187 #1344; Abū ʿAwānah Yaʿqūb ibn Isḥāq al-Isfarāʾīnī, *al-Mustakhraj*, 4:212 #6541; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 3:82 #2728; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 12:129 #6760; Abū Bishr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dūlābī, *al-Dhurrīyah al-ṭāhirah*, 157 #131; Ibn ʿAsākir ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 58:194 #62709.

[1235] Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 6:170 #6761.

obligatory prayers in the mosque. The Messenger of God ﷺ used to perform his voluntary prayers at home.

The Ḥadīth of Reciting Āyat al-Kursī After the Obligatory Prayers:

عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بن حَسَنِ بن حَسَنٍ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَنْ جَدِّهِ قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: « مَنْ قَرَأَ آيَةَ الْكُرْسِيِّ فِي دُبُرِ الصَّلاةِ الْمَكْتُوبَةِ كَانَ فِي ذِمَّةِ اللَّهِ إِلَى الصَّلاةِ الأُخْرَى ».

ʿAbd Allāh, who narrated from his father Ḥasan, said: Ḥasan said: The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "Whoever recites Āyat al-Kursī after the obligatory prayers, he will be under the protection of God until the next prayer." [1236] In fact, this ḥadīth has been narrated by many Companions, such as Abū Umāmah al-Bāhilī, Ṣudayy ibn ʿAjlān, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd, Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr, and Anas ibn Mālik. We have only taken the narration from Ḥasan.

The Sermon Delivered by the Messenger of God ﷺ at Tabūk:

عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بن الْحَسَنِ (بْنِ الْحَسَنِ) بْنِ عَلِيٍّ ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ قَالَ: صَعِدَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ الْمِنْبَرَ يَوْمَ غَزْوَةِ تَبُوكَ. فَحَمِدَ اللَّهَ وَأَثْنَى عَلَيْهِ ثُمَّ قَالَ: « أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ، إِنِّي وَاللَّهِ مَا آمُرُكُمْ إِلا بِمَا أَمَرَكُمُ اللَّهُ بِهِ. وَلا أَنْهَاكُمْ إِلا عَمَّا نَهَاكُمُ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. فَأَجْمِلُوا فِي الطَّلَبِ. فَوَ الَّذِي نَفْسُ أَبِي الْقَاسِمِ بِيَدِهِ، إِنَّ أَحَدَكُمْ لَيَطْلُبُهُ رِزْقُهُ كَمَا يَطْلُبُهُ أَجَلُهُ. فَإِنْ تَعَسَّرَ عَلَيْكُمْ شَيْءٌ مِنْهُ فَاطْلُبُوهُ بِطَاعَةِ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ. »

ʿAbd Allāh, the son of Ḥasan, narrated from his father Ḥasan, who narrated from his own father Ḥasan, who said: During the expedition of Tabūk, the Messenger of God ﷺ ascended the pulpit. After praising and glorifying God, he said: "O, people! By God, I only command you what God has commanded and I forbid you only what He has forbidden. Seek your sustenance in a good manner. By God, in whose hand is the

[1236] Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 3:82 #2728; *al-Duʿāʾ*, 214 #674; Ḥasan ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Baghdādī, al-Khallāl, *Faḍāʾil sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ*, 105 #57.

soul of Abū al-Qāsim's father, sustenance seeks a man just as his appointed term seeks him. When sustenance becomes difficult to obtain, then seek it by obeying God." [1237] This ḥadīth has been narrated by numerous Companions such as Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd, Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī, Abū Umāmah al-Bāhilī, Sudayy ibn ʿAjlān, Anas ibn Mālik, and Abū Hurayrah, and appears in many ḥadīth collections. The narration from Ḥasan is recorded only by al-Ṭabarānī.

Ḥadīth: Gladdening a Believer Brings Forgiveness:

عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بن حَسَنِ بن حَسَنٍ. عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَنْ جَدِّهِ. أَنّ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: « إِنَّ مِنْ وَاجِبِ الْمَغْفِرَةِ، إِدْخَالَكَ السُّرُورَ عَلَى أَخِيكَ الْمُسْلِمِ. »

ʿAbd Allāh narrated from his father Ḥasan, who narrated from his own father Ḥasan, who in turn narrated from his grandfather, who said that the Prophet ﷺ said: "Among the obligations of forgiveness is that you gladden your Muslim brother." [1238] The meaning of this is that bringing joy to your Muslim brother can be a cause for your own forgiveness, whether by relieving his distress, assisting him materially or spiritually, or responding to his invitation and making him feel supported. [1239]

Ḥasan described the attributes of the Messenger of God ﷺ in great detail. He learned and narrated these attributes from his maternal uncle Abū Hālah. These narrations can be found in al-Tirmidhī's *Kitāb al-shamāʾil*, as well as in other ḥadīth and *siyar* (biographical) works.

[1237] Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 3:143 #2671.

[1238] Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 3:143 #2672, 3:85 #2738; *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, 8:153 #8245; Abū Bishr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dūlābī, *al-Dhurrīyah al-ṭāhirah*, 128 #112; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Muwaḍḍiḥ awhām al-jamʿ wa-al-tafrīq*, 1:530; Muḥammad ibn Salāmah al-Quḍāʿī, *al-Musnad al-shihāb*, 4:235 #1058.

[1239] Al-Amīr Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Tanwīr sharḥ al-jāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr*, 4:138.

The Appointment of Ḥasan as Caliph:

As a result of the martyrdom of ʿAlī, allegiance (*bayʿah*) was pledged to Ḥasan, and he was appointed as caliph. In the month of Ramaḍān in the fortieth year of the hijrah, Ḥasan was given the pledge of allegiance. According to the reports we have found, ʿAlī did not appoint anyone to succeed him as caliph. When he was asked about this matter, he is reported to have said: "Whomever you choose, let him be the caliph." The people then chose Ḥasan and pledged allegiance to him. The first to pledge allegiance to him was Qays, the son of Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah. After the burial of ʿAlī was completed, Qays ibn Saʿd said to Ḥasan: "Stretch out your hand, so that I may pledge allegiance to you upon the book of God, the Sunnah of His Prophet, and to fight those against whom fighting is lawful." Ḥasan replied: "[It shall be] upon the book of God and the sunnah of His Prophet. This [i.e., the condition you added] comes after that." Qays then pledged allegiance and remained silent. The people also pledged allegiance thereafter. When the people of Iraq wished to give him their allegiance, Ḥasan stipulated the following condition: "You will listen to me and obey me. Whomever I make peace with, you will make peace with. Whomever I fight, you will fight."

There are differing opinions concerning the length of Ḥasan's caliphate. According to one view, it lasted eight months; according to another, seven or six months. With the duration of his caliphate, the era of *al-khilāfah al-rāshidah* (the rightly guided caliphates) reached its completion.

According to the ḥadīth of the Messenger of God ﷺ: "The rightly guided caliphate will last for thirty years. Then there will be kingship." This thirty-year period was completed with the caliphate of Ḥasan. As many scholars have stated, the *khulafāʾ al-rāshidūn* (the Rightly Guided Caliphs) are not four, but five. We are accustomed to saying there were four caliphs, but in reality, we ought to say five. This is because ʿAlī's caliphate lasted five and a half years, and the six-month caliphate of Ḥasan completes the thirty years.

Among the scholars who affirmed that the thirty years were completed with Ḥasan's caliphate are: Abū Bakr ibn al-ʿArabī, Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, Ṭaḥāwī, Ibn Kathīr, al-Munāwī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī. Ibn

Kathīr commented: "This ḥadīth is among the miracles of prophethood."[1240]

Reports Regarding the Thirty-Year Duration of the Prophetic Caliphate:

The Ḥadīth of Safīnah:

Saʿīd ibn Jumhān narrated, saying: Safīnah told me: The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "The duration of the prophetic caliphate in my community will be thirty years. Then there will be kingship." Saʿīd ibn Jumhān continued: Then Safīnah said: "Count the duration of Abū Bakr's caliphate (two years), count ʿUmar's caliphate (ten years), count ʿUthmān's caliphate (twelve years), and count [ʿAlī's] caliphate (six years)." We added them together and found that they total thirty years. Saʿīd said: I said to Safīnah: "The Banū Umayyah claim that the caliphate belongs to them." Safīnah, referring to the descendants of Marwān, replied: "The 'blue ones' (i.e., the Marwānids) lie. They are kings, and the most wicked of kings." [1241]

The version of this narration transmitted by al-Ḥākim from Safīnah includes more detailed elaboration:

[1240] Abū Bakr ibn al-Aʿrabī, *Aḥkām al-Qurʾān*, 4:172; Yaḥyá ibn Sharaf al-Nawawī, *al-Minhāj sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj*, 12:201; Ibn Kathīr Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar, *al-Bidāyah wa-al-nihāyah*, 11:134; ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Munāwī, *Fayḍ al-qadīr*, 2:409; Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, *al-Ṣawāʿiq al-muḥriqah*, 2:397.

[1241] Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 4:73 #2226; Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath, *al-Sunan*, 4:342 #4648; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 34:94 #20445, 36:248 #21919, 36:248 #21923, 36:256 #21928, 36:256 #21928; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 1:487 #789, 1:487 #790; Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī, *al-Musnad*, 2:430 #1203; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 7:313 #8099; Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, 8:414 #3349; Aḥmad ibn ʿAmr al-Shaybānī, *al-Āḥād wa-al-mathānī*, 1:157 #140; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim Aḥmad ibn ʿAmr, *al-Sunnah*, 2:539 #1138; *al-Āḥād wa-al-mathānī*, 1:129 #140; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 6:194 #6329, 6:194 #6330; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:71 #4438, 3:71 #4697; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh, *al-Imāmah*, 358 #180; Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī, *al-Sharīʿah*, 4:1703 #1177, 4:1703 #1180; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:34 #6657; Nuʿaym ibn Ḥammād, *al-Fitan*, 2:687 #1940; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 1:55 #13.

عَنْ سَعِيدِ بْنِ جُمْهَانَ. عَنْ سَفِينَةَ مَوْلَى أُمِّ سَلَمَةَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهَا.، قَالَ: كَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ إِذَا صَلَّى الصُّبْحَ، ثُمَّ أَقْبَلَ عَلَى أَصْحَابِهِ فَقَالَ: « أَيُّكُمْ رَأَى اللَّيْلَةَ رُؤْيَا؟ » قَالَ: فَصَلَّى ذَاتَ يَوْمٍ، فَقَالَ: « أَيُّكُمْ رَأَى رُؤْيَا؟ » فَقَالَ رَجُلٌ: أَنَا رَأَيْتُ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ. كَأَنَّ مِيزَانًا دُلِّيَ بِهِ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ، فَوُضِعْتَ فِي كِفَّةٍ، وَوُضِعَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ مِنْ كِفَّةٍ أُخْرَى. فَرَجَحْتَ بِأَبِي بَكْرٍ. فَرُفِعْتَ وَتُرِكَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ مَكَانَهُ. فَجِيءَ بِعُمَرَ بْنِ الْخَطَّابِ فَوُضِعَ فِي الْكِفَّةِ الْأُخْرَى. فَرَجَحَ بِهِ أَبُو بَكْرٍ، فَرُفِعَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ. وَجِيءَ بِعُثْمَانَ فَوُضِعَ فِي الْكِفَّةِ الْأُخْرَى، فَرَجَحَ عُمَرُ بِعُثْمَانَ. ثُمَّ رُفِعَ عُمَرُ وَعُثْمَانُ وَرُفِعَ الْمِيزَانُ. قَالَ: فَتَغَيَّرَ وَجْهُ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ ثُمَّ قَالَ: « خِلَافَةُ النُّبُوَّةِ ثَلَاثُونَ عَامًا، ثُمَّ تَكُونُ مُلْكًا. » قَالَ سَعِيدُ بْنُ جُمْهَانَ: فَقَالَ لِي سَفِينَةُ: « أَمْسِكْ سَنَتَيْ أَبِي بَكْرٍ، وَعَشْرَ عُمَرَ، وَاثْنَتَيْ عَشْرَةَ عُثْمَانَ، وَسِتَّ عَلِيٍّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ أَجْمَعِينَ. » وَقَدْ أُسْنِدَتْ هَذِهِ الرِّوَايَاتُ بِإِسْنَادٍ صَحِيحٍ مَرْفُوعًا إِلَى النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ.

Saʿīd ibn Jumhān narrated from Safīnah, the freed slave of the Mother of the Believers Umm Salamah. Safīnah said: After leading the dawn prayer, the Messenger of God ﷺ would turn to his Companions and ask: "Which of you saw a dream last night?" One day, after leading the prayer, he again asked: "Which of you saw a dream last night?" A man replied: "O, Messenger of God, I saw a dream last night. It was as though a scale was lowered from the sky. You were placed on one side of it, and Abū Bakr was placed on the other. You outweighed Abū Bakr. Then you were taken up and only Abū Bakr remained. Then ʿUmar, son of al-Khaṭṭāb, was brought and placed on the opposite side. Abū Bakr outweighed him. Then Abū Bakr was lifted, and ʿUthmān was brought and placed on the other side. ʿUmar outweighed ʿUthmān. Then ʿUmar and ʿUthmān were both lifted, and the scale itself was lifted." Upon hearing this dream, the face of the Messenger of God ﷺ changed, and he said: "The prophetic caliphate is thirty years. Then there will be kingship." Saʿīd ibn Jumhān continued: Safīnah said to me: "Count the

two years of Abū Bakr, the ten years of ʿUmar, the twelve years of ʿUthmān, and the six years [of ʿAlī]."[1242] This totals thirty years. Al-Ḥākim also transmitted this ḥadīth from Abū Bakrah Nufayʿ ibn al-Ḥārith.[1243]

The Physical Characteristics of Ḥasan: Ḥasan bore a striking resemblance to his grandfather, the Messenger of God ﷺ.[1244] He had a fair, rosy complexion, a handsome face, and a cheerful countenance. His eyes were large and dark; his cheeks well-proportioned. He had a chest lightly covered with hair down to his navel, a thick beard, and abundant hair that reached his earlobes. His bones were large, his shoulders broad, and his stature moderate. His hair was wavy, his body well-proportioned. He was intelligent and noble in character. The whiteness of his neck was likened to a pitcher made of silver. He died at the age of forty-five. His brothers Ḥusayn, Muḥammad, and ʿAbbās washed his body. The governor of Madīnah, Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ, led the funeral prayer.[1245]

The Personality of Ḥasan: From Ḥasan's deeds and acts of worship, it is evident that he possessed a profound faith in God and in the Day of Judgment. He had complete trust in God, was a man of knowledge and a leader. He was sincere, loyal, and courageous. He had a deep sense of human dignity and chivalry, was altruistic, ascetic, self-sacrificing, and humble. He accepted advice. He was forbearing and patient, resolute, and possessed high ambition and diligence. He had strong will and leadership skills, was just, and capable of resolving problems.

[1242] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:74 #4437, 3:74 #4438.
[1243] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 4:436 #8189.
[1244] Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 7:85 #6227; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 3:348 #13045; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:184 #4786.
[1245] Abū Bishr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dūlābī, *al-Dhurrīyah al-ṭāhirah*, 166 #136; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 3:253.

ḤASAN'S WISDOM AND ELOQUENCE

Ḥasan was raised in the lap of his grandfather, the Messenger of God ﷺ, the city of knowledge, and in the care of his father, ʿAlī, the gate of knowledge. His mother was Fāṭimah. Due to this noble lineage, he stood at the pinnacle of knowledge. As previously noted, he was a transmitter of ḥadīth. ʿAlī would teach people the book of God, and certainly, he taught it to his sons as well. Ḥasan and Ḥusayn learned from their father the legal rulings of Islamic law and the methodology of deriving rulings from the verses of the Qurʾān. Ḥasan memorized the Qurʾān from ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥabīb and Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī. God honored him with a life lived by the Qurʾān. He was among the *aʾimmat al-hudá* (imāms of guidance), whom people followed and to whom they adhered. His sermons consisted entirely of qurʾānic verses; one of his sermons was the complete sūrat Ibrāhīm.[1246] Ḥasan paid great attention to the *sīrah* (biography) of the Prophet and made a point to teach it. He once said: "We used to learn the battles and *sīrah* of the Messenger of God ﷺ just as we learned the chapters of the Qurʾān."[1247]

Among the Rāshidūn caliphs, the one who narrated the most ḥadīth*s* was ʿAlī, since he passed away after the others. Many in the generation of Followers after the Companions, sought legal opinions and knowledge from ʿAlī. Naturally, Ḥasan benefited immensely from his father. Due to his young age, Ḥasan personally heard and directly transmitted only a few ḥadīth*s* from his grandfather, the Messenger of God ﷺ, but what he heard and learned from his father was considerable. Ḥasan would encourage his children and close relatives to pursue knowledge. He would tell them: "Today you are small, tomorrow you will be grown. Learn knowledge and memorize it. Transmit it. Those who are unable to memorize it should write it down and preserve it in their homes."[1248]

Ḥasan was a powerful orator. One day, ʿAlī said to him, "Rise and deliver the sermon." Ḥasan replied, "When I see you, I am struck with awe and hesitate to deliver a sermon." So ʿAlī went to a place where he could hear but not be seen by Ḥasan. When Ḥasan had completed the sermon and descended, ʿAlī recited the verse: "These are descendants,

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[1246] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, ed. al-Sulamī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:278.

[1247] Ibn Kathīr Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar, *al-Bidāyah wa-al-nihāyah*, 2:242.

[1248] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, ed. al-Sulamī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:292.

some of whom are from others. And God is All-Hearing, All-Knowing" [1249] For Ḥasan had inherited and acquired eloquence, rhetorical excellence, and oratorical grace from both his grandfather, the Messenger of God, and his father, ʿAlī. [1250] Ḥasan possessed deep mastery of Arabic and was renowned for his eloquence and rhetorical power. The grammarian and philologist Abū ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAlāʾ said: "I have not seen anyone with greater eloquence than Ḥasan, son of ʿAlī."

Questions Posed to Ḥasan, Son of ʿAlī: Al-Ḥārith al-Aʿwar narrated: ʿAlī asked his son Ḥasan about moral character and chivalry. He said: "O, my dear son, what is uprightness?"Ḥasan replied: "My dear father, it is repelling evil with goodness."

ʿAlī: What is honor?

Ḥasan: It is beneficence to one's kin, bearing part of the compensation for a wrong committed by a relative, being in harmony with one's brothers rather than in opposition to them, and safeguarding the rights of neighbors.

ʿAlī: What is moral character and chivalry?

Ḥasan: It is chastity and the proper management of one's wealth.

ʿAlī: What is basess?

Ḥasan: It is to not let go of even the most trivial of things, and to withhold the most worthless item from others.

ʿAlī: What is ingratitude?

Ḥasan: It is guarding oneself while expecting to be protected by others, yet failing to protect them in return.

ʿAlī: What is generosity?

Ḥasan: It is spending in both hardship and ease.

ʿAlī: What is miserliness?

Ḥasan: It is regarding what is in your hand as honor, and seeing your expenditures as a loss.

ʿAlī: What is brotherhood?

Ḥasan**:** It is loyalty in both wealth and poverty.

ʿAlī: What is cowardice?

Ḥasan: It is boldness toward a friend and apprehension of an enemy.

ʿAlī: What is gain?

[1249] Q, Āl ʿImrān, 3:34.

[1250] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, ed. al-Sulamī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:276.

Ḥasan: It is yearning for God-consciousness and adopting abstention in the world; this is effortless reward.

ʿAlī: What is forbearance?

Ḥasan: It is overcoming one's anger and restraining oneself.

ʿAlī: What is wealth?

Ḥasan: It is being content with what God has apportioned for one, even if little. True wealth is the richness of the soul.

ʿAlī: What is poverty?

Ḥasan: It is the soul's craving for everything.

ʿAlī: What is dignity?

Ḥasan: It is confronting the strongest of men when hardship intensifies.

ʿAlī: What is humiliation?

Ḥasan: It is to feel fear even when affirmed and supported.

ʿAlī: What is inarticulateness?

Ḥasan: It is to fidget with one's beard and to spit frequently when speaking with others.

ʿAlī: What is audacity?

Ḥasan: It is boldness among one's peers.

ʿAlī: What is burden?

Ḥasan: It is to speak of matters which do not concern you.

ʿAlī: What is glory?

Ḥasan: It is to give even when your wealth is being confiscated, and to pardon offenses.

ʿAlī: What is intelligence?

Ḥasan: It is the guarding of the heart through comprehension.

ʿAlī: What is ignorance?

Ḥasan: It is showing enmity toward one's imām (leader) and raising one's voice against him.

ʿAlī: What is good praise?

Ḥasan: It is doing good and avoiding evil.

ʿAlī: What is deliberation?

Ḥasan: It is to carry out an action with patience and care, to deal gently with those in authority, and to protect oneself from people with circumspection.

ʿAlī: What is honor?

Ḥasan: It is harmony with one's brothers and upholding the rights of neighbors.

ʿAlī: What is foolishness?

Ḥasan: It is following base and vile people, and befriending the deviant and immoral.

ʿAlī: What is heedlessness?

Ḥasan: It is abandoning what is right and following the corrupt.

ʿAlī: What is privation?

Ḥasan: It is to leave behind what has been presented to you and what is destined for you.

ʿAlī: Who is the corrupt one?

Ḥasan: It is one who acts foolishly with his wealth, does not value his honor, and remains silent when insulted or verbally abused.

Then ʿAlī said: "I heard the Messenger of God ﷺ say:
'There is no poverty more severe than ignorance.
There is no wealth more valuable than intelligence.
There is no isolation more desolate than self-admiration.
There is no safeguard more secure than consultation.
There is no intelligence like prudence.
There is no nobility like good character.
There is no piety like abstaining from doubtful matters.
There is no worship like reflection.
There is no faith like modesty and patience.
The affliction of speech is lying.
The affliction of knowledge is forgetfulness.
The affliction of forbearance is deviation and transgression.
The affliction of worship is sloth and abandonment.
The affliction of elegance is rudeness and arrogance.
The affliction of courage is injustice and oppression.
The affliction of generosity is reminding others of favors.
The affliction of beauty is self-conceit, arrogance, and impudence.
The affliction of noble lineage is boastfulness and pride'."
ʿAlī continued: "O, my dear son, do not belittle or scorn anyone you see. If he is older than you, treat him as a father. If he is your peer, treat him as a brother. If he is younger than you, treat him as a son."[1251]

[1251] Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 3:115 #2622; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, 2:34 #1462; Muḥammad ibn Mukarram ibn Manẓūr al-Ifriqī, *Mukhtaṣar tārīkh Dimashq*, 2:404; Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf

The Wise Sayings and Admonitions of Ḥasan, Son of ʿAlī:

ʿUmayr ibn Maʿmūn said: I heard Ḥasan, the son of ʿAlī, say: "A person who frequents the mosque attains eight qualities:
(1) A firm (clear) verse,
(2) a brother from whom benefit is derived,
(3) knowledge that is accepted,
(4) mercy that is hoped for,
(5) a word guiding to right guidance,
(6) a word deterring from evil,
(7) abandoning sin out of shame,
(8) or abandoning sin out of fear of God."[1252]

They reproached Ḥasan, the son of ʿAlī, for his frequent silence. To those who reproached him, he said: "I have regarded my tongue as a beast. If I were to release it, it would devour me."[1253] Ḥasan, the son of ʿAlī, said: "Whoever comes to us will attain one of four qualities. Either they will learn a decisive verse (from the Qurʾān) or a matter concerning justice; or they will meet a beneficial brother, or they will sit with scholars." [1254]

Ḥasan, the son of ʿAlī, said: "When you bend something, it becomes shorter, but speech is an exception: the more you bend it, the longer it becomes." He also said: "People are of three types. One is a person with their soul, one is a person with their tongue, and one is a person with their wealth. The trustworthy person is secure. The reckless person is audacious. The treacherous person is fearful. The one who commits evil is always alone. [Inappropriate] humor diminishes a person's dignity (a joker lacks dignity; the serious person is dignified). Never hasten punishment. Leave space for both punishment and an excuse [that the accused can use to save face]. The moment of forgiveness for the

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ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 6:220, 6:2240 #1248; Abū al-Faraj al-Muʿāfā ibn Zakarīyā al-Nahrawānī, *al-J̌alīs al-ṣāliḥ*, 3:321 #581.

[1252] Ibn Qutaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, 281.

[1253] Al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, *Adab al-khawāṣṣ*, 1:64.

[1254] ʿAmr ibn Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa-al-tabyīn*, 311.

generous person is when there is little room for excuse for the one who committed sin."

Ḥasan said: "People are ruined for three reasons: pride, greed, and jealousy. Pride is the ruin of religion. (In other words, a proud person destroys their religion.) Iblīs (Satan) was cursed because of pride. (He was deprived of God's mercy.) Greed is the enemy of the soul. Adam was expelled from Paradise because of greed. Jealousy is a wicked guide. It was jealousy that caused Qābīl to kill Hābīl [Cain killed Able]."

In his sermons, he would also say: O, son of Adam, be chaste regarding what God has forbidden, and you will become among the devout. Be content with what God has given you, and you will become wealthy. Treat your neighbors well, and you will be a good Muslim. Treat others as you wish to be treated, and you will be just. Certainly, among you there are those who gather wealth, build tall buildings, and hope for long life. Their community is on the path of corruption and destruction. Their knowledge is but arrogance and deception. Their final resting place will be the graves. O, son of Adam, since the day you were born from your mother, you have been striving to exhaust your life. Save what you have for future use (for the Hereafter). For the believer saves for the Hereafter, while the disbeliever seeks pleasure in this life. Then he would recite this verse: 'O, believers! Take provision for the journey to the Hereafter. And know that the best provision is piety'."[1255]

Ḥasan, the son of ʿAlī, said: "The wisest of the wise is the one who lives according to piety. The most foolish of the fools is the one who lives in transgression. "Generosity and kindness are giving without expecting anything in return." [1256] And "Truthfulness and loyalty are a fortress that protects the worshipers from the fire."[1257]

Muʿāwiyah asked Ḥasan about generosity, chivalric character, and helping those in need. Ḥasan said: Generosity is to give in kindness without expecting gratitude or causing harm, to give to the needy without them asking, and to feed others during times of scarcity. Helping others is protecting a neighbor when necessary, repelling harm from

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[1255] Q, al-Baqarah, 2:197; Ibn Ḥamdūn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad, *al-Tadhkirah al-ḥamdūnīyah*, 1:101 #185.

[1256] Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 6:78 #29605; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Marwān al-Dīnawarī, *al-Mujālasah wa-jawāhir al-ʿilm*, 6:284 #2644.

[1257] Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Marwān al-Dīnawarī, *al-Mujālasah wa-jawāhir al-ʿilm*, 7:93 #2976.

them, and stepping forward in the most difficult times. Chivalrous character is preserving one's religion, keeping oneself away from evil, providing what is necessary for guests, giving rights to their rightful owners, and spreading greetings.[1258]

[1258] Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Khalaf ibn al-Marzubān, *al-Murū'ah*, 63; Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, 3:246; Muḥammad ibn Mufliḥ al-Maqdisī, *al-Ādāb al-shar'iyah*, 2:220.

ḤASAN'S PIETY, GENEROSITY, AND SPENDING FOR THE POOR

Ḥasan's worship: Ḥasan continuously recited the supplications and prayers taught by the Messenger of God ﷺ. He encouraged people to pray in congregation in the mosques and would say: "To the one who regularly attends the mosques, God will grant one of these virtues: a brother from whom he will benefit, a mercy that will cover him, knowledge that he did not know, a word that will guide him to the right path, or sins that he will leave out of shame or fear of God."

When Ḥasan prayed the dawn prayer in the mosque of the Messenger of God ﷺ, he would stay seated until the sun had fully risen, engrossed in the remembrance of God and supplication, not leaving his place. The prominent members of the community would sit with him and engage in conversation. After the prayer, he would go to the mothers of the believers (the wives of the Prophet), greet them, and inquire about their well-being. Sometimes, they would offer him hospitality. He would then return to his home.[1259] When the sun rose, Ḥasan, the son of ʿAlī, would say: "The greatest praise of God has been heard by those who hear it. He has no partner. Sovereignty and praise belong to Him. He is capable of everything."[1260] Ḥasan, the son of ʿAlī, would perform prayers from sunset until night. When asked about this, he would recite the sixth verse of sūrat al-Muzzammil (Q 73:6): "Indeed, the night prayer is more effective for the soul and more suitable for recitation."[1261]

Ḥasan frequently performed the pilgrimage (Ḥajj):

قَالَ ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ: مَا نَدِمْتُ عَلَى شَيْءٍ فَاتَنِي فِي شَبَابِي إِلاَّ أَنِّي لَمْ أَحُجَّ مَاشِيًا. وَلَقَدْ حَجَّ الْحَسَنُ بْنُ عَلِيٍّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا خَمْسَةً وَعِشْرِينَ حَجَّةً مَاشِيًا. وَإِنَّ النَّجَائِبَ لَتُقَادُ مَعَهُ. وَلَقَدْ قَاسَمَ اللَّهَ مَالَهُ ثَلاَثَ مَرَّاتٍ. حَتَّى إِنَّهُ يُعْطِي الْخُفَّ وَيُمْسِكُ النَّعْلَ.

[1259] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, ed. al-Sulamī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:297 #252.

[1260] Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 6:78 #29605.

[1261] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Zuhd*, 171 #949.

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās said: "There is nothing I regret not doing in my youth. However, I regret not going to Ḥajj on foot." The son of ʿAlī, Ḥasan, performed the pilgrimage on foot twenty-five times, despite having camels with him. He shared his wealth with God three times (he gave half of his wealth for the sake of God). He would keep his own sandals and give his shoes to others. [1262]

Ḥasan's Asceticism, Generosity, Hospitality, and Almsgiving: Raised under the discipline of the Qur'ān and his grandfather, the Messenger of God ﷺ Ḥasan stands as an exemplary model in the matter of *zuhd* (ascetic piety). Ḥasan would say: "If someone competes with you for worldly gain, then you compete with him for the Hereafter." Ḥasan was exceedingly noble and generous, for he was raised under the guidance of his grandfather, the Messenger of God ﷺ who is the master of all generous ones. In his acts of generosity, Ḥasan did not distinguish between the rich and the poor, the young and the old, the near and the distant, his aim was to earn the pleasure of God, and to attain reward, recompense, and divine favor. Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn said: "Sometimes, the son of ʿAlī, Ḥasan, would give a person one hundred thousand."[1263] Saʿīd ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz said: A man who was in the presence of Ḥasan was heard supplicating, "O, God, grant me ten thousand dirham*s*." Ḥasan went to his home and sent that man ten thousand dirham*s*.[1264]

One day, Ḥasan saw a young slave in one of the gardens of Madīnah eating a piece of bread and giving a piece to a dog in front of him. Ḥasan asked him, "Why are you doing this?" The young man replied, "I am ashamed to eat while not feeding him." Ḥasan said, "Do not move from your place until I return." Then he went to the owner of the slave, bought both the young man and the garden, and set the slave free, and gifted the garden to him. The newly freed young man said, "To the One for whom you did this, I too now gift the garden."[1265] his

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[1262] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:169 #4788; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 4:331 #8906; Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-Fākihī, *Akhbār Makkah*, 1:395 #839; Muḥibb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭabarī, *Dhakhāʾir al-ʿuqbá*, 137; Abū al-Faraj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat al-ṣafwah*, 1:760.

[1263] Ibn Kathīr Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar, *al-Bidāyah wa-al-nihāyah*, 8:42; Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 6:234.

[1264] Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 3:260.

[1265] Ibn Kathīr Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar, *al-Bidāyah wa-al-nihāyah*, 11:196.

means: "You did this for the sake of God, so I too have donated this garden to God. I have given it in charity to the poor." Abū Hārūn al-ʿAbdī said: "We set out for the Ḥajj. When we arrived in Madīnah, we went to Ḥasan, the son of ʿAlī. We informed him of our journey and our condition. After we had left his presence, he sent four hundred (dirham*s*) to each of us. We returned to him and told him that our situation was good and that we were not in need. He replied, 'Do not turn away my kindness'." [1266]

Ḥasan's Aid to the Needy: A man once came to Ḥusayn, the son of ʿAlī, and said, "I am in need." Ḥusayn was in *iʿtikāf* (spiritual retreat [a ritual of staying in the mosque for a certain number of days]). Ḥusayn said, "Had I not been in *iʿtikāf*, I would have gone out to fulfill your need." The man then left and went to Ḥasan and said, "I am in need." Ḥasan immediately went out of his house with him and fulfilled his need. The man then said, "I had not intended to come to you with my request. I first went to Ḥusayn, and he said, 'Had I not been in *iʿtikāf* I would have gone out to fulfill your need'." Ḥasan replied, "To fulfill the need of a brother for the sake of God is more beloved to me than remaining in *iʿtikāf* for a whole month."[1267]

ʿAlī's Sermon Concerning Ḥasan: One day, while delivering a sermon, ʿAlī said: "Your brother, Ḥasan the son of ʿAlī, has gathered some wealth and desires to distribute it among you." The people gathered together. Ḥasan stood up and said, "I gathered this wealth for

[1266] Muḥammad ibn Mukarram ibn Manẓūr al-Ifriqī, *Mukhtaṣar tārīkh Dimashq*, 2:402; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 3:261.

[1267] ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak, *al-Zuhd*, 1:258 #746; Ibn Abī al-Dunyá ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *Qaḍāʾ al-ḥawāʾij*, 63-64; Ibn ʿAsākir ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 14:76; Muḥammad ibn Mukarram ibn Manẓūr al-Ifriqī, *Mukhtaṣar tārīkh Dimashq*, 2:402; Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 6:234; Ibn Kathīr Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar, *al-Bidāyah wa-al-nihāyah*, 8:42; Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudá wa-al-rashād*, 11:69; ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ḥusayn al-ʿIṣāmī, *Samṭ al-nujūm al-ʿawālī*, 2:43; ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Ṣallābī, *al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib*, 248.

the poor." Half of those gathered stood up. The first to take from that wealth was al-Ashʿath ibn Qays. [1268]

Ḥasan's Forbearance: Marwān would harm Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, but Ḥasan would show forbearance and remain patient. Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam's Cursing of ʿAlī: ʿUmayr ibn Isḥāq said: "Marwān governed us for six years. Every Friday he would curse ʿAlī from the pulpit [during congregation]." Marwān was removed from office, and for a few years he was replaced by Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ, who did not curse him. Then Saʿīd was also removed, and Marwān was reappointed. He resumed cursing ʿAlī. It was said to Ḥasan: "Do you not hear what he is saying?" Ḥasan would not respond to the one asking. On Fridays, he would enter the chamber of the Prophet ﷺ and sit there. When the sermon was concluded, he would come out, perform the prayer, and return home.

But this did not satisfy Marwān, and he began to harass Ḥasan even in his home. ʿUmayr ibn Isḥāq said: "I was with Ḥasan when someone said: 'So-and-so is at the door.' Ḥasan said, let him in. By God, I suspect he has come with ill intent.' He was admitted. The man said: 'I've come from so-and-so. He pressed me and said, "You must say..." Ḥasan said: 'Speak.' The man said: 'Marwān said such and such about ʿAlī and you. He says: "I only consider someone like you to be like a mule. When asked: 'Who is your father?' it replies, 'My father is the horse'." Ḥasan said: "Go back to him and say: 'By God, I shall not erase a single word of what you have said against me for the sake of cursing you. But my and your appointment is before God. If you are truthful in what you have said, may God reward you for your truth. If you are lying, may God punish you with the severest of punishments. God has ennobled my grandfather far beyond being likened to a horse'."

The man departed and encountered Ḥusayn. Ḥusayn said: "O, so-and-so, why did you come?" The man replied: "I came with a message and have delivered it." Ḥusayn said: "Come back here and tell me what the message was, or I will have you be beaten." When Ḥasan saw him return, he said to Ḥusayn: "Let him go." Ḥusayn said: "I cannot." Ḥasan said: "Why not?" Ḥusayn replied: "I have sworn an oath. And if this man does not convey my message to him (Marwān), may his mother be bereft of him." The man said: "O, Ḥusayn, that man is a ruler."

[1268] Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 11:140 #31332; Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, ed. al-Sulamī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:278 #223; Ibn Badrān ʿAbd al-Qādir Badrān, *Tahdhīb tārīkh Dimashq*, 2:402.

Ḥusayn said: "If I do not make my words reach him, may I be bereft..." and he uttered harsh words against himself. Ḥusayn continued: "Say to him: 'May such-and-such be upon you, your father, and your people. The sign between me and you is this: when your shoulder touches that of the one whom the Messenger of God ﷺ cursed'."[1269]

A Second Example of Ḥasan's Forbearance: Ibn ʿĀ'ishah, ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Qurashī, related: Abū al-Maʿāfī al-Rajabī said: I had a friend from the people of Syria. He was a man full of envy, and he harbored enmity toward ʿAlī, the son of Abū Ṭālib. One day he said to me (referring to Ḥasan): "Peace be upon the fine and pure son of the fine and pure." I said to him, "How did you come to this view?" He replied, "Let me tell you. I went to Madīnah. I saw a man riding a mule, never had I seen a person with a more beautiful face, nor finer clothing, nor a more splendid mount, nor anyone who looked more dignified while riding. I asked, 'Who is this?' They said, 'This is Ḥasan, the son of 'Alī.' Because ʿAlī had such a son, I was filled with envy. I approached him to speak. When he saw me coming, he halted. I said, 'Are you the son of the son of Abū Ṭālib?' He replied, 'I am.' Then I insulted him and his father, saying, 'You and your father…' He turned to me and listened to me fully. When I finished, he said, 'You must not be from around here?' I said, 'Yes [I am from out of town].'

He said: 'Come with us. If you need a place to stay, we will provide it. If you need money, we will give it. And if you need any other kind of assistance, we will help you.' I left Madīnah, and there was no one on earth whom I loved more than him. I realized that he was truly noble and excellent. I saw how vile and in loss anyone who bore enmity toward him must be. Whenever I reflected on what he had done, I blamed myself and offered him thanks." [1270]

[1269] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, ed. al-Sulamī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:399 #370; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 5:231; *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalā'*, 5:444, 5:476.

[1270] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Ghanī ibn Nuqṭah, *Takmilat al-ikmāl*, 2:733; Ibn Khallikān Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, 2:67, 2:68; ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Ṣallābī, *al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib*, 1:241.

Reports Concerning the Banū Umayyah Who Distressed Ḥasan and Ḥusayn: In recounting Ḥasan's forbearance, we have related that the Banū Umayyah caused harm and grief to him and his brother Ḥusayn. Because of these events, we shall now present the reports transmitted regarding the Banū Umayyah, specifically Marwān and his father al-Ḥakam.

The Ḥadīth of Abū Barzah:

عَنْ أَبِي بَرْزَةَ الأَسْلَمِيِّ قَالَ: « كَانَ أَبْغَضَ الأَحْيَاءِ إِلَى رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بَنُو أُمَيَّةَ، وَبَنُو حَنِيفَةَ، وَثَقِيفٌ. »

Abū Barzah al-Aslamī reported: "The persons most abhorred by the Messenger of God ﷺ were the Banū Umayyah, the Banū Ḥanīfah, and the tribe of Thaqīf." [1271]

Ḥakam, the son of Abū al-ʿĀṣ of the Banū Umayyah: Ḥakam was the father of Marwān and the paternal uncle of ʿUthmān. He was among those who embraced Islam during the Conquest of Makkah. The Messenger of God ﷺ expelled him from Madīnah. He settled in Ṭāʾif with his son Marwān. It is also said that Marwān was born in Ṭāʾif. Ḥakam remained in Ṭāʾif until ʿUthmān became caliph; once ʿUthmān assumed the caliphate, he brought him to Madīnah. Ḥakam died in Madīnah a few months before the insurrection that took place near the end of ʿUthmān's caliphate.

There is disagreement concerning the reason why the Messenger of God ﷺ banished him. One account states that Ḥakam used to secretly eavesdrop and deceitfully listen to confidential matters that the Messenger of God ﷺ had entrusted to the senior Companions regarding the Quraysh polytheists, unbelievers, and hypocrites, and that he would then disclose this information [he pretended to be Muslim but was really just spying for the enemies of Muḥammad]. It is said that the revelation of this conduct was one of the reasons for his expulsion.

[1271] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 4:480 #8482; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī stated: "This ḥadīth conforms to the conditions of al-Bukhārī and Muslim."

Ḥakam also mockingly imitated the Messenger of God ﷺ in his gait, movements, and in certain matters which are not fitting to mention, and which the Prophet disapproved of being mimicked and mocked. It is reported that the Messenger of God ﷺ used to walk with a slight forward lean. Ḥakam imitated this way of walking. One day, the Prophet ﷺ turned around and saw him doing this. He said to him, "May it be so with you." Thereafter, Ḥakam developed continuous tremors.[1272]

Ḥadīth regarding the cursing of Marwān and his father Ḥakam: Abū Yaḥyá, reported: "I was present between the sons of ʿAlī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, and Marwān. Ḥusayn was cursing Marwān. Ḥasan said to Ḥusayn, 'Do not do that.' Meanwhile, Marwān said, 'You are a family cursed by God.' Upon hearing this, Ḥasan became angry and replied, 'Woe to you! You dare say that we are a family cursed by God? I swear by God, by the tongue of the Messenger of God ﷺ that even while your father was still in the loins of his father, God had already cursed your father'." [1273] Al-Dhahabi, *Tārīkh al-islām* (History of Islam) states the following regarding Ḥakam: "Ḥadīths narrating that he was cursed have been reported, but these are considered *munkar* (rejected)[1274] and cannot be accepted as evidence or proof. Ḥakam's status as a companion (ṣaḥābī) does not have any special characteristic. However, he does hold the general characteristic of being a companion."[1275] In our view, Al-Dhahabī's statement reflects the traditional [Jamāʿī] Sunnī perspective regarding the companions. This is because he himself acknowledges that for some of the ḥadīths on this matter: "Their chain of transmission is authentic."

The ḥadīth narrated by al-Ḥākim from Abū Dharr is as follows:

[1272] Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb*, 1:106.

[1273] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, ed. al-Sulamī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:402 #375; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalā'*, 5:476, after narrating this report, states: "The narrator Abū Yaḥyá is from the Nakhaʿ (نَخَع) tribe. I do not know him." The same report is cited in *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 5:232, where al-Dhahabī comments that Abū Yaḥyá is *majhūl*. That means no positive or negative remarks about him are found in the *al-jarḥ wa-al-taʿdīl* literature.

[1274] *Munkar* ḥadīth: A ḥadīth reported by a non-reliable narrator that contradicts what trustworthy narrators report.

[1275] Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 5:231.

عَنْ حَلاَمِ بْنِ جِذْلٍ الْغِفَارِيِّ قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ أَبَا ذَرٍّ جُنْدُبَ بْنَ جُنَادَةَ الْغِفَارِيَّ يَقُولُ: سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ: « إِذَا بَلَغَ بَنُو أَبِي الْعَاصِ ثَلاَثِينَ رَجُلاً اتَّخَذُوا مَالَ اللهِ دُوَلاً، وَعِبَادَ اللهِ خَوَلاً، وَدِينَ اللهِ دَغَلاً « .قَالَ حَلاَمٌ: فَأُنْكِرَ ذَلِكَ عَلَى أَبِي ذَرٍّ. فَشَهِدَ عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ، أَنِّي سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ: « مَا أَظَلَّتِ الْخَضْرَاءُ، وَلاَ أَقَلَّتِ الْغَبْرَاءُ عَلَى ذِي لَهْجَةٍ أَصْدَقَ مِنْ أَبِي ذَرٍّ. وَأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَهُ «. هَذَا حَدِيثٌ صَحِيحٌ عَلَى شَرْطِ مُسْلِمٍ وَلَمْ يُخْرِجَاهُ. »

Halām ibn Jidhl al-Ghifārī narrated: I heard from Abū Dharr Jundub ibn Junādah al-Ghifārī, who said: I heard from the Messenger of God ﷺ that he said: "When the sons of Abū al-ʿĀṣ reach thirty in number, they will spend God's wealth as they please ([unfairly] giving to some and withholding from others), making God's servants their own slaves and servants. They will deceive the people with God's religion." Ḥalām said: For narrating this, Abū Dharr was criticized. However, ʿAlī, the son of Abū Ṭālib, testified: "I heard the Messenger of God ﷺ say: 'The earth and the heavens have not seen anyone more truthful than Abū Dharr.' I also bear witness that the Messenger of God ﷺ said this."[1276] And it is authentic according to the criteria of Muslim, though he did not include it in his work. Al-Ḥākim also narrated this ḥadīth from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī.

The other ḥadīth narrated by al-Ḥākim from Abū Dharr is:

عَنْ أَبِي ذَرٍّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ: « إِذَا بَلَغَتْ بَنُو أُمَيَّةَ أَرْبَعِينَ، اتَّخَذُوا عِبَادَ اللهِ خَوَلاً، وَمَالَ اللهِ نِحَلاً، وَكِتَابَ اللهِ دَغَلاً. »

[1276] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 4:479 #8478, 8479, 8480; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī stated: "This ḥadīth conforms to the conditions of Muslim."

Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī said: I heard the Messenger of God ﷺ say: "When the sons of Umayyah reach forty in number, they will make God's servants their own slaves and servants. They will give God's wealth to those who do not deserve it. They will deceive people with God's book." [1277]

The ḥadīth narrated by al-Ḥākim from Abū Hurayrah is:

عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: « إِنِّي أُرِيتُ فِي مَنَامِي، كَأَنَّ بَنِي الْحَكَمِ بْنِ أَبِي الْعَاصِ يَنْزُونَ عَلَى مِنْبَرِي كَمَا تَنْزُو الْقِرَدَةُ . قَالَ: فَمَا رُئِيَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مُسْتَجْمِعًا ضَاحِكًا حَتَّى تُوُفِّيَ. »

Abū Hurayrah said: The Messenger of God ﷺ said: "In my dream, I saw the sons of Abū al-ʿĀṣ, the son of Ḥakam, climbing upon my pulpit like monkeys leaping. After that, the Messenger of God ﷺ was never seen laughing until his death." [1278]

The ḥadīth of ʿAmr ibn Murrah al-Juhanī:

عَنْ عَمْرِو بْنِ مُرَّةَ الْجُهَنِيِّ، وَكَانَتْ لَهُ صُحْبَةٌ. قَالَ: « جَاءَ الْحَكَمُ بْنُ أَبِي الْعَاصِ يَسْتَأْذِنُ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. فَعَرَفَ صَوْتَهُ كَلَامَهُ، فَقَالَ: ائْذَنُوا لَهُ. لَعْنَةُ اللهِ عليه، وَعَلَى مَنْ يَخْرُجُ من صلبه. إِلا الْمُؤْمِنِينَ مِنْهُمْ، وَقَلِيلٌ

[1277] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 4:479 #8475, 8476; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī stated that the isnād of report #8475 is *munqaṭiʿ* (disconnected) and remained silent about #8476; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *Musnad al-shāmīyīn*, 2:338 #1451.

[1278] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 4:480 #8481; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī stated: "This ḥadīth conforms to the conditions of Muslim."; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 6:63 #6461; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubūwah*, 6:511; Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Abī Bakr al-Haythamī, *Majmaʿ al-zawāʾid*, 5:243 #9246, after citing the ḥadīth, stated: "Abū Yaʿlá transmitted it. All men in the chain are those of the authentic narrators (*rijāl al-ṣaḥīḥ*), except for Muṣʿab ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, and he too is trustworthy."

مَا هُمْ. يُشَرَّفُونَ فِي الدُّنْيَا، وَيُوضَعُونَ فِي الآخرة. ذَوُو مَكْرٍ وَخَدِيعَةٍ. يُعْطَونَ فِي الدُّنْيَا، وَمَا لَهُمْ فِي الْآخِرَةِ مِنْ خَلَاقٍ. »

ʿAmr ibn Murrah al-Juhanī, a companion, narrated that Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ came to the Messenger of God ﷺ and requested permission to enter. The Prophet ﷺ recognized his voice and speech. He said, "Allow him to enter." Then he added: "God's curse is upon him and those who will come from his loins, except for the believers among his descendants; but how few they are. They will be honored in this world, but humiliated in the Hereafter. They are deceivers and swindlers. They will be given in this world, but they will have no share in the Hereafter." [1279]

The ḥadīth of ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr:

عَنِ الشَّعْبِيِّ ، عَنْ عَبْدِ اللهِ بْنِ الزُّبَيْرِ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا: « أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ لَعَنَ الْحَكَمَ وَوَلَدَهُ ». هَذَا الْحَدِيثٌ صَحِيحُ الإِسْنَادِ ، وَلَمْ يُخْرِجَاهُ. قَالَ الْحَاكِمُ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى : لِيَعْلَمَ طَالِبُ الْعِلْمِ، أَنَّ هَذَا بَابٌ لَمْ أَذْكُرْ فِيهِ ثُلُثَ مَا رُوِيَ. وَأَنَّ أَوَّلَ الْفِتَنِ فِي هَذِهِ الأُمَّةِ فِتْنَتُهُمْ. وَلَمْ يَسَعْنِي فِيمَا بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَ اللهِ أَنْ أُخَلِّيَ الْكِتَابَ مِنْ ذِكْرِهِمْ.

Shāʿbī narrated from ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr (and his father) that the Messenger of God ﷺ cursed Ḥakam and his descendants. This ḥadīth has a sound chain of transmission. However, it was not narrated by al-Bukhārī or Muslim. God have mercy on him, Hākim said: "The student of knowledge should know that I have only narrated one-third of the ḥadīths related to this matter. The first *fitnah* in this ummah is the *fitnah* caused by these individuals. Because of the connection and rights between me and God, I could not refrain from mentioning them in my book." [1280]

Shāʿbī also narrated where ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr said this.

[1279] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 4:528 #8484; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubūwah*, 6:512; Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyá al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 6:256.

[1280] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 4:481 #8485.

عَنِ الشَّعْبِيِّ، قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ عَبْدَ اللهِ بْنَ الزُّبَيْرِ، وَهُوَ مُسْتَنِدٌ إِلَى الْكَعْبَةِ، وَهُوَ يَقُولُ: « وَرَبِّ هَذِهِ الْكَعْبَةِ، لَقَدْ لَعَنَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فُلَانًا، وَمَا وُلِدَ مِنْ صُلْبِهِ ».

Shāʿbī said: I heard ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr say, while leaning against the Kaʿbah, "By the Lord of this Kaʿbah, the Messenger of God ﷺ cursed so-and-so (Ḥakam) and those who will come from him." [1281]

Regarding Ḥakam imitating the speech of the Prophet ﷺ:

عَنْ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بن أَبِي بَكْرٍ قَالَ: « كَانَ الْحَكَمُ بن أَبِي الْعَاصِ يَجْلِسُ عِنْدَ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. فَإِذَا تَكَلَّمَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَوَّلا. فَبَصُرَ بِهِ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَقَالَ: أَنْتَ كَذَاكَ. فَمَا يَزَالُ يَخْتَلِجُ حَتَّى مَاتَ».

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abū Bakr said: Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ was sitting with the Prophet ﷺ. When the Prophet spoke, he would imitate him by moving his lips and chin, mocking him. When the Prophet saw what he was doing, he said: "May you remain like that." Ḥakam remained this way until his death. [1282]

Nāsir al-Dīn al-Albānī mentioned this ḥadīth in his book *Silsilat al-aḥādīth al-ḍaʿīfah* and made the following evaluation: This [version of this] ḥadīth is *munkar* (rejected). After citing the sources we confirmed, he wrote: This ḥadīth is narrated through the route of Ḍirār ibn Ṣurad. Al-Ḥākim declared the isnād to be authentic, while al-Dhahabī rejected this, saying that Ḍirār is weak. Ibn Ḥajar stated that there is a problem with the isnād, as Ḍirār was associated with Rafiḍī beliefs. In his book *al-Mughnī*, al-Dhahabī quoted al-Bukhārī, who described Ḍirār as *matrūk* (rejected). Yaḥyá ibn Maʿīn also mentioned: "There are two liars in Kūfah: one of them is this person, and the other is Abū Nuʿaym al-Nahāʾī." [1283]

[1281] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 26:51 #16128; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 6:159 #2197.

[1282] Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 3:214 #3167; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 2:678 #4241; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubūwah*, 6:239; Ibn al-Athīr al-Mubārak ibn Muḥammad, *al-Nihāyah fī gharīb al-ḥadīth*, 2:138.

[1283] Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, *Silsilat al-aḥādīth al-ḍaʿīfah*, 13:1065 #6473.

The Prophet's curse upon Ḥakam: The Prophet ﷺ cursed Ḥakam as a result of his mockery and disrespect.

عَنْ مَالِكِ بْنِ دِينَارٍ قَالَ: حَدَّثَنِي هِنْدُ بْنُ خَدِيجَةَ زَوَّجَ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: « مَرَّ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بِالْحَكَمِ أَبِي مَرْوَانَ. فَجَعَلَ الْحَكَمُ يَغْمِزُ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بِإِصْبَعِهِ. فَالْتَفَتَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَرَآهُ فَقَالَ: اللهُمَّ اجْعَلْ بِهِ وَزَعًا. فَرَجَفَ مَكَانَهُ. » وَالْوَزَعُ ارْتِعَاشٌ. كَذَا فِي كِتَابِي.

Mālik ibn Dinār narrated, saying: The son of Khadījah, Hind, told me that the Prophet ﷺ passed by Ḥakam, the father of Marwān. Ḥakam gestured with his finger. At that moment, the Prophet ﷺ turned around and looked at him. He saw him and then invoked a curse, saying: "O, God, give him trembling!" At that moment, Ḥakam began to tremble.[1284]

The ḥadīth of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr:

عَنْ عَبْدِ اللهِ بْنِ عَمْرٍو قَالَ: كُنَّا جُلُوسًا عِنْدَ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، وَقَدْ ذَهَبَ عَمْرُو بْنُ الْعَاصِ يَلْبَسُ ثِيَابَهُ لِيَلْحَقَنِي. فَقَالَ: وَنَحْنُ عِنْدَهُ « لَيَدْخُلَنَّ عَلَيْكُمْ رَجُلٌ لَعِينٌ .» فَوَاللهِ مَا زِلْتُ وَجِلاً، أَتَشَوَّفُ دَاخِلًا وَخَارِجًا ، حَتَّى دَخَلَ فُلَانٌ. يَعْنِي: الْحَكَمَ.

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr said: We were sitting with the Prophet ﷺ. My father, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, went to put on his clothes to come to me. At that moment, the Prophet ﷺ said: "Someone cursed is about to come here." I swear by God, I feared it might be my father. I started looking at those

[1284] Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb*, 1:489; Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubūwah*, 6:240; Abū Sulaymān Ḥamd ibn Muḥammad al-Khaṭṭābī, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, 1:542; ʿAbd al-Bāqī ibn Kāniʿ al-Baghdādī, *Muʿjam al-ṣaḥābah,* 3:196; Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, in *al-Silsilah al-ḍaʿīfah*, 13:826, ruled this narration as weak, *mursal*, and defective due to disconnection (*inqiṭāʿ*).

coming and going. At that moment, Ḥakam entered, and it was he who was being referred to. [1285]

We have mentioned that the narrations we've cited are weak and imperfect. However, the weakness of a ḥadīth does not necessarily mean it is a lie. No scholar has ever declared these narrations to be fabricated (*mawḍūʿ*). In some cases, weak narrations that convey the same meaning may become strengthened, reaching the status of *ḥasan li-ghayrih* (good due to supporting evidence). The fact that the Prophet ﷺ exiled Ḥakam to Ṭā'if [rather than allowing him to stay in Madīnah or be in Makkah] supports these reports. Now, the next ḥadīth we will narrate shows that the weak narrations stem from an authentic core.

The ḥadīth of Sahl ibn Saʿd:

عَنِ ابْنِ شِهَابٍ، أَنَّ سَهْلَ بْنَ سَعْدٍ السَّاعِدِيَّ أَخْبَرَهُ. أَنَّ رَجُلاً اطَّلَعَ فِي جُحْرٍ فِي بَابِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم، وَمَعَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم مِدْرًى يَحُكُّ بِهِ رَأْسَهُ. فَلَمَّا رَآهُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم قَالَ:« لَوْ أَعْلَمُ أَنَّكَ تَنْظُرُنِي لَطَعَنْتُ بِهِ فِي عَيْنِكَ .» وَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم:« إِنَّمَا جُعِلَ الإِذْنُ مِنْ أَجْلِ الْبَصَرِ. »

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī said: Sahl ibn Saʿd al-Sāʿidī al-Anṣārī informed me: A man was spying on the Prophet ﷺ through a hole in the door of his house. The Prophet ﷺ had in his hand an instrument called *midrah* (a comb-like tool used to scratch or comb one's head). When the Prophet ﷺ saw him, he said: "Had I known you were looking at me, I would

[1285] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 11:71 #6520; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār (Musnad al-Bazzār)*, 6:344 #2352; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Abī Khaythamah, *al-Tārīkh*, 4:71 #1786; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 20:153 #1547, *al-Muʃam al-awsaṭ*, 7:160 #7155; Ibn Manẓūr Muḥammad ibn Mukarram, *Mukhtaṣar tārīkh Dimashq*, 7:250; Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Abī Bakr al-Haythamī, *Majmaʿ al-zawā'id*, 5:434, stated: "Aḥmad and al-Bazzār transmitted this ḥadīth; Aḥmad's chain contains trustworthy transmitters." Shuʿayb al-Arnā'ūṭ, editor of *al-Musnad*, ruled (11:72): "This ḥadīth has a sound chain and meets Muslim's criteria; except for ʿUthmān ibn Ḥakīm, the narrators are trustworthy and found in both al-Bukhārī and Muslim. ʿUthmān ibn Ḥakīm is the son of ʿAbbād ibn Ḥunayf al-Anṣārī and is one of Muslim's narrators."

have poked it into your eye. For God has made seeking permission necessary for the eyes." [1286]

This means that spying or looking into someone's house without permission is not permissible. This ḥadīth, which is narrated by Sahl ibn Saʿd and Anas ibn Mālik and is agreed upon (*muttafaq ʿalayh*), does not specify the name of the person involved, referring to him only as "a man." However, we understand from the narration of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās in al-Ṭabarānī's *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr* that this person was Ḥakam.

عَنِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ قَالَ: إِنَّمَا كَانَ نَفْيُ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ الْحَكَمَ بن أَبِي الْعَاصِ مِنَ الْمَدِينَةِ إِلَى الطَّائِفِ. بَيْنَمَا النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فِي حُجْرَتِهِ، فَإِذَا هُوَ إِنْسَانٌ يَطَّلِعُ عَلَيْهِ. فَقَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: « الْوَزَغَ، الْوَزَغَ، فَنَظَرَ فَإِذَا هُوَ الْحَكَمُ. فَقَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: اخْرُجْ، لا تُسَاكِنِّي بِالْمَدِينَةِ مَا بَقِيتُ. » فَنَفَاهُ إِلَى الطَّائِفِ.

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās said: The reason for the exile of Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ to Ṭāʾif was as follows: The Prophet ﷺ was in his room when he noticed that someone was spying on him. The Prophet ﷺ said twice: "Tremble, tremble." When he looked to see who the person was, he saw that it was Ḥakam. Upon this, the Prophet ﷺ said: "Leave (Madīnah). As long as I am alive, you will not remain in Madīnah." He then exiled him to Ṭāʾif. [1287]

[1286] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 8:66 #6241, *al-Adab al-mufrad*, 368 #1072; Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 6:180 #5764, 5765; Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 4:361 #2709; Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 6:376 #7035, *al-Mujtabá*, 8:60 #4859; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 37:461 #22802; Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī, *al-Musnad*, 2:304 #1042; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 13:126 #5809, 13:347 #6001; al-Ḥusayn ibn Masʿūd al-Baghawī, *Sharḥ al-sunnah*, 10:252 #2567; Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Adab*, 11 #21; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 13:420 #7510; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī, *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥābah*, 16:247 #5133; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 8:338 #18107, *al-Sunan al-ṣughrá*, 3:351 #2743, *Maʿrifat al-sunan wa-al-āthār*, 13:88 #5518; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 5:371 #5532-5544; *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, 8:196 #8385. This ḥadīth has been transmitted in over 40 works with more than 80 isnāds.

[1287] Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 12:148 #12724.

The ḥadīth of Ḥudhayfah:

Ḥudhayfah said: After the death of the Prophet ﷺ when Abū Bakr became the caliph, there was discussion about Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ. Abū Bakr said: "I will not undo what the Prophet ﷺ bound."[1288] Ḥakam's exile to Ṭā'if: Ḥakam was exiled to Ṭā'if by the command of the Prophet ﷺ. This request to the caliph was an attempt by ʿUthmān to bring his uncle back to Madīnah. Such a request had also been made during the caliphate of ʿUmar, but ʿUmar had not allowed him to return to Madīnah. When ʿUthmān became the caliph, he brought his uncle Ḥakam back to Madīnah. Regarding this matter, he told those who objected: "I had interceded on his behalf to bring him back to Madīnah before the Prophet ﷺ. The Prophet had promised me that he would allow it." [1289]

Muḥammad ibn Saʿd in his *Tabaqāt* provides the following information about Marwān: It was said that when the Prophet ﷺ passed away, Marwān, the son of Ḥakam, was eight years old. He stayed with his father until his death during the caliphate of ʿUthmān. Marwān continued to be with his uncle ʿUthmān, serving as his scribe. ʿUthmān gave him wealth, which Marwān considered a form of maintaining family ties. People criticized ʿUthmān for bringing Marwān so close to him, for obeying him, and for doing everything Marwān asked. Many actions attributed to ʿUthmān were, in fact, carried out by Marwān without ʿUthmān's orders or knowledge. The public spoke ill of ʿUthmān's treatment of Marwān, his closeness to him. Marwān would provoke the people against ʿUthmān, [and then turn around and] tell him what they said about him. He would also threaten the people on ʿUthmān's behalf, using his closeness to the caliph to show his influence.

ʿUthmān, a noble, generous, modest, and peace-loving man, would sometimes affirm Marwān's views, while at other times he would reject them. Marwān would engage in debates with the companions of the Prophet ﷺ in ʿUthmān's presence, and ʿUthmān would reprimand him and try to stop him from such conduct. When ʿUthmān was besieged, Marwān defended him fiercely. During the siege, ʿĀ'ishah intended to go to Ḥajj. Marwān, Zayd ibn Thābit, and ʿAttāb ibn Usayd's son, ʿAbd al-

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[1288] Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 3:351 #3097.

[1289] Ibn al-Athīr ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Usd al-ghābah*, 1:274; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 2:104 #1783.

Raḥmān, approached ʿĀ'ishah and said: "O, mother of the believers, as you can see, the Commander of the Believers is under siege. Your presence here will help save him from this situation." ʿĀ'ishah replied: "I have completed my duties, and I have no strength left to stay." They repeated their request, but she responded with the same answer. At that point, Marwān recited two lines of poetry. ʿĀ'ishah responded: "By God, the one who recites poetry to me as an example, I swear, I would prefer to see you and your friend (meaning ʿUthmān) tied with millstones and cast into the sea." She then set off for Makkah. [1290]

The event between ʿĀ'ishah and Marwān, as reported by al-Bukhārī:

عَنْ يُوسُفَ بْنِ مَاهَكَ قَالَ: « كَانَ مَرْوَانُ عَلَى الْحِجَازِ.اسْتَعْمَلَهُ مُعَاوِيَةُ. فَخَطَبَ، فَجَعَلَ يَذْكُرُ يَزِيدَ بْنَ مُعَاوِيَةَ لِكَيْ يُبَايِعَ لَهُ بَعْدَ أَبِيهِ. فَقَالَ لَهُ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنُ أَبِي بَكْرٍ شَيْئًا. فَقَالَ: خُذُوهُ. فَدَخَلَ بَيْتَ عَائِشَةَ فَلَمْ يَقْدِرُوا (عَلَيْهِ). فَقَالَ مَرْوَانُ: إِنَّ هَذَا الَّذِي أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ فِيهِ: ﴿ وَالَّذِي قَالَ لِوَالِدَيْهِ أُفٍّ لَكُمَا أَتَعِدَانِنِي ﴾ فَقَالَتْ عَائِشَةُ مِنْ وَرَاءِ الْحِجَابِ: مَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ فِينَا شَيْئًا مِنَ الْقُرْآنِ. إِلاَّ أَنَّ اللَّهَ أَنْزَلَ عُذْرِي ».

Yūsuf Ibn Maḥak narrated, saying: Muʿāwiyah appointed Marwān as governor of the Ḥijāz. He delivered a sermon, and in his sermon he called for allegiance to Yazīd after Muʿāwiyah. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the son of Abū Bakr, said something to him. Marwān ordered: "Seize him." ʿAbd al-Raḥmān fled and sought refuge in ʿĀ'ishah's house. The officials were unable to apprehend him. Thereupon Marwān said: "God revealed concerning him the verse: 'And he says to his parents: Fie upon you! Do you threaten me that I shall be brought forth, when generations have already passed away before me'?" (Q 46:17). When ʿĀ'ishah heard this from behind the curtain, she said: "God has not revealed anything about us except that which excuses us." [1291]

The ḥadīth narrated by Muḥammad ibn Ziyād is more detailed.

[1290] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 5:36 #5813.

[1291] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 6:166 #827.

عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ زِيَادٍ قَالَ: لَمَّا بَايَعَ مُعَاوِيَةُ لِابْنِهِ يَزِيدَ، قَالَ مَرْوَانُ: سُنَّةُ أَبِي بَكْرٍ وَعُمَرَ. فَقَالَ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنُ أَبِي بَكْرٍ: سُنَّةُ هِرَقْلَ، وَقَيْصَرَ. فَقَالَ: أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ فِيكَ: الآيَةَ: ﴿ وَالَّذِي قَالَ لِوَالِدَيْهِ أُفٍّ لَكُمَا ﴾. قَالَ: فَبَلَغَ عَائِشَةَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهَا، فَقَالَتْ: «كَذَبَ وَاللَّهِ مَا هُوَ بِهِ، وَلَكِنْ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ لَعَنَ أَبَا مَرْوَانَ، وَمَرْوَانُ فِي صُلْبِهِ. فَمَرْوَانُ قَصَصٌ مِنْ لَعْنَةِ اللهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ. »

Muḥammad ibn Ziyād narrated, saying: When Muʿāwiyah took allegiance for his son Yazīd (to succeed him as caliph), Marwān said: "This [allegiance] is the sunnah (custom) of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar." ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the son of Abū Bakr, said: "This is the sunnah of Heraclius and Caesar." [None of the caliphs before every appointed their children to succeed them like kings. There is no Kingship in Islam.] Marwān said to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān: "The verse, 'And he says to his parents: Fie upon you! Do you threaten me that I shall be brought forth, when generations have already passed away before me?' was revealed concerning you."[1292] When ʿĀ'ishah heard this, she said: "By God, he has lied. It was not revealed concerning him. Rather, while Marwān was still in his father's loins, the Messenger of God ﷺ cursed Marwān's father. Marwān is a portion of God's curse." [1293]

The humility of Ḥasan: ʿAlī's son Ḥasan passed by a group of poor people who were eating scraps of bread they had gathered from the road. They invited him to eat the bread with them. He said, "God does not love the arrogant," and sat with them and ate from that bread. Then he invited them to his house, fed them [an excellent meal], clothed them, and showed them generosity.[1294]

Ḥasan's refusal to be exploitative: Ḥasan went to the market to make a purchase. He entered a shop and bargained with the shopkeeper over the price of something he intended to buy. The shopkeeper named a price. When he learned that it was Ḥasan, the grandson of the

[1292] Q. al-Aḥqāf, 46:17.

[1293] Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 10:257 #11427; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 4:481 #8483.

[1294] ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Sallābī, *al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib*, 291.

Messenger of God ﷺ, he reduced the price out of love and respect. Ḥasan refused to accept this, saying, "I will not exploit my kinship with the Messenger of God ﷺ for a worthless item," and refrained from buying it. [1295]

Ḥasan's observance of etiquette and politeness: Ḥasan was sitting in a certain place and was about to leave. At that moment, a poor man arrived. After Ḥasan spoke to him gently, he said, "We were about to leave, and you have now come and sat down. Do you permit us to leave?" The man replied, "Yes, O, son of the daughter of the Messenger of God ﷺ, you may rise." [1296]

Ḥasan was known for his quick wit. Ḥasan and the poor Jew: One day, Ḥasan had bathed and dressed in fine clothes. The blessings of God were visibly apparent on him as he left his house. On the road, he encountered a Jewish man, destitute, poor, and humiliated, wearing garments of leather, bent over from the fatigue of illness, baked by the midday sun, and carrying a water container on his back. The Jew stopped Ḥasan and said, "I have a question." Ḥasan replied, "Ask, what is it?" The Jew said, "Your grandfather says, 'The world is a prison for the believer and a paradise for the disbeliever.' [1297] You are a believer, and I am a disbeliever. Yet I see you in a state of blessing, while poverty and deprivation have broken my back. This world is your paradise and my prison." When Ḥasan heard this, he said, "Compared to the blessings God has prepared for me (and the believers) in the Hereafter, this world is like a prison. And compared to the painful torment He has

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[1295] Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Ḥasanī al-Nadwī, *al-Murtaḍá*, 228; ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Sallābī, *al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib*, 250.

[1296] Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 8:417 #26179; Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, ed. al-Sulamī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:281 #229; Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Majālis*, 4; Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *Tārīkh al-khulafā'*, 166; ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Sallābī, *al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib*, 252.

[1297] This ḥadīth is *ṣaḥīḥ* and has been transmitted in many sources. We suffice with references from collections that contain only sound narrations. Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 8:210 #7606; Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 4:140 #2324; Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Mājah, *al-Sunan*, 5:232 #4113; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 14:44 #8289, 15:23 #9055; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2:462 #687, 688; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:699 #6545.

prepared for you (the disbelievers), this world is like a vast paradise." [1298] Ḥasan, known for his quick wit, had given a reply that silenced him.

ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr's praise of Ḥasan: ʿUrwah ibn al-Zubayr's son, ʿAbd Allāh, said: On a cold winter morning, I saw ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr sitting with Ḥasan. He sat with him until sweat formed on his forehead. I became upset by this and called out to my uncle, saying, "O, uncle!" My uncle said, "What do you want?" I said, "You sat with Ḥasan until your forehead broke out in sweat." ʿAbd Allāh said, "O, son of my brother, he is the son of Fāṭimah. By God, women have never given birth to one like him."[1299]

Ḥasan is the most noble of people in regard to mother and father, grandfather and grandmother, paternal uncle and paternal aunt, maternal uncle and maternal aunt: When Muʿāwiyah came to Madīnah, Ḥasan would occasionally attend his gatherings. One day, while ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and other notables were present, Muʿāwiyah asked those present, "Who is the most noble in regard to mother and father, grandfather and grandmother, paternal uncle and paternal aunt, maternal uncle and maternal aunt?" Al-Nuʿmān ibn al-Aʿjlān al-Zurqānī took Ḥasan by the hand and said, "This man: his father is ʿAlī, his mother is Fāṭimah, his grandfather is the Messenger of God, his grandmother is Khadījah, his paternal uncle is Jaʿfar, his paternal aunt is Umm Hāni', the daughter of Abū Ṭālib, his maternal uncle is al-Qāsim, and his maternal aunt is Zaynab." [1300]

[1298] Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, *al-Ḥasan wa-al-Ḥusayn*, 32.

[1299] ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Amālī fī āthār al-ṣaḥābah,* 68-88; Ibn ʿAsākir ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 14:70; Muḥammad ibn Mukarram ibn Manẓūr al-Ifriqī, *Mukhtaṣar tārīkh Dimashq*, 2:401; Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 6:233; ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Sallābī, *al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib*, 256.

[1300] Ibn ʿAsākir ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 14:70; Muḥammad ibn Mukarram ibn Manẓūr al-Ifriqī, *Mukhtaṣar tārīkh Dimashq*, 2:401; ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Sallābī, *al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib*, 256.

ARTICLES OF THE PEACE TREATY WITH MUʿĀWIYAH

Ḥasan's appointment as caliph: Once the burial of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib was completed, allegiance was given to Ḥasan as caliph. The beginning of the *bayʿah* (pledge of allegiance) took place as follows: In the fortieth year of the hijrah, on Friday the seventeenth of the month of Ramaḍān, the first to approach was Qays ibn Saʿd, who said to Ḥasan: "Extend your hand, that I may pledge allegiance to you upon the book of God and the sunnah (practice) of His messenger." Ḥasan remained silent. Then Qays pledged allegiance, and afterward the people pledged allegiance as well. All the commanders, governors, and people who had pledged allegiance to ʿAlī also pledged allegiance to Ḥasan. Qays, the son of Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah, was the governor of Āzarbayjān. Under his command were forty thousand soldiers. All of them had pledged allegiance to ʿAlī, committing to fight until death. Ḥasan began his duties as caliph. He organized the affairs of his officials, prepared the army, and appointed governors and commanders. He distributed the due stipends to those entitled. For the stipends of the combat soldiers, he doubled their shares. Thus, he secured their contentment.[1301]

Ḥasan's attempted assassination and the reasons for his reconciliation with Muʿāwiyah: The first assassination attempt: Hilāl ibn Yasāf narrated: After Ḥasan had been chosen as caliph, only a short time had passed when, while he was in prostration during prayer, a man from among the Banū Asad attacked him, attempting to kill him with a dagger. The blow struck his hip. Due to this assassination attempt, he was ill for several months. When he recovered, he ascended the pulpit and delivered a sermon in which he said: "O, people of Kūfah, fear God concerning us. We are your guests and your commanders. God has said concerning us: 'Verily, God desires to remove defilement from you, O, People of the House, and to purify you thoroughly' (Q 33:33). We are the *ahl al-bayt* (People of the House) to whom He referred." Never have I seen the people weep as they did on that day while listening to his sermon.[1302]

[1301] Abū al-Faraj ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil al-Ṭālibīyīn*, 55.

[1302] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, ed. al-Sulamī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:318 #280, 1:323 #283.

The second assassination attempt: According to Ibn Kathīr's account, Ḥasan was not inclined to wage war against Muʿāwiyah. However, the governor of Āzarbayjān, Qays ibn Saʿd, along with the populace, insisted on war. As a result of this insistence, Ḥasan dismissed Qays from the governorship and appointed ʿUbayd Allāh, the son of al-ʿAbbās, in his place. Ultimately, due to their persistence, Ḥasan decided upon war. An unprecedented number of warriors were assembled. Ḥasan dispatched an advance force of twelve thousand soldiers under the command of Qays ibn Saʿd. He himself set out with a larger army to confront Muʿāwiyah. When he arrived at the city of Madā'in, he encamped there and sent the vanguard further ahead.

Ḥasan had established his headquarters outside Madā'in. At that time, a person cried out with a shout that Qays ibn Saʿd had been killed. The people panicked and began plundering one another's belongings. They even looted Ḥasan's tent and its contents. They pulled the rug out from under him as he was seated on it. Then, a man from the Banū Asad, either Sinān ibn Jarraḥ or Jarrāḥ ibn Qabīṣah, stabbed Ḥasan with a dagger.[1303] Ḥasan was enraged by these events. He mounted his horse immediately and took refuge in the White Palace of Madā'in, where he lodged while still wounded. The governor of Madā'in at that time was Saʿd ibn Masʿūd al-Thaqafī, the brother of Abū ʿUbayd al-Thaqafī.

When the situation calmed down, Mukhtār al-Thaqafī, the son of Abū ʿUbayd, said to his uncle Saʿd: "Do you seek honor and wealth?" His uncle replied, "What honor and wealth is that?" Mukhtār said, "You will bind Ḥasan and send him to Muʿāwiyah." His uncle responded, "May God disfigure you and what you think! Shall I do such evil to the son of the daughter of the Messenger of God ﷺ?" When Ḥasan saw the condition of his army, he realized that no benefit would come from them. He was angry with them and wrote a letter to Muʿāwiyah

[1303] Ibn Aʿtham Aḥmad ibn Aḥmad, *al-Futūḥ*, 4:155 states that this person was Sinān ibn al-Jarrāḥ of the Banū Asad; Abū Ḥanīfah Aḥmad ibn Dāwūd al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 1:217 reports that he was al-Jarrāḥ ibn Qabīṣah of the Banū Asad. Whichever of the two, he was aligned with the Khārijī view [TN: and therefore his narrations cannot be accepted as reliable.]

proposing reconciliation. It is likely that this was already his opinion of the people of Kūfah since the time of his father.[1304]

The third assassination attempt: According to the report of al-Balādhurī, when peace negotiations between Ḥasan and Muʿāwiyah were successfully concluded, Ḥasan began preparing his supporters for this reconciliation. He had encamped near the bridge of Madāʾin. There, he delivered a sermon in which he said: "I hope to be a successor who gives the people the best advice. I bear no grudge or anger against anyone. I wish no harm or hardship upon anyone. A unity you dislike is better than a division you desire. What I intend for you is better than what you intend for yourselves. Do not oppose me. Do not respond to me with rejection. May God forgive me and all of you."

The people began looking at one another. They said, "By God, he has become weak and powerless. He is resolved to make peace with Muʿāwiyah." They then attacked his tent, entered it, and pulled the prayer mat from beneath him. They plundered his clothes. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Azdī assaulted him and took his cloak. Only his sword remained on his shoulder. Ḥasan was terrified. After regaining some composure, he mounted his horse and rode among the people. Some were calling him weak and feeble, while others intervened to prevent harm and dispersed the crowd.

A man named Jarrāḥ ibn Sinān, a Khārijī from the Banū Asad ibn Khuzaymah tribe, was sitting in ambush at a place called Muẓlim in the Sabāṭ region, on the western bank of the Tigris River, awaiting Ḥasan's passage. When Ḥasan passed by, Jarrāḥ approached his mount and seized its reins. He said, "O, Ḥasan, just as your father fell into polytheism, so too have you become a polytheist." He then drew a mallet and struck Ḥasan on the thigh. The blow caused a severe wound to the upper part of his leg, nearly reaching the bone. Ḥasan struck him in the face, and the two grappled and fell to the ground. ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥaml al-Ṭāʾī leapt upon Jarrāḥ and seized the mallet from his hand. Dhibyān ibn Umārah al-Tamīmī grabbed his nose and tore it off. Then, taking a piece of brick, he struck Jarrāḥ on the face and head until he killed him. The governor of Madāʾin, Saʿd ibn Masʿūd al-Thaqafī, took Ḥasan into his home. A physician was brought to treat him. Ḥasan

[1304] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 5:159; Ibn Kathīr Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar, *al-Bidāyah wa-al-nihāyah,* 8:15.

remained there until he recovered. When he regained his health, he was moved to the White Palace in Madā'in.[1305]

The consequence of the assassination attempt after the peace decision: Hilāl ibn Ḥabbāb said: While Ḥasan was in the palace of Madā'in, he gathered the prominent individuals who were with him and said to them: "O, people of Iraq, you pledged allegiance to me on the basis that you would be at peace with whomever I am at peace, and fight whomever I fight. Were it not for three things, I would have been pleased with you: that you killed my father; that, while I was on my mount, you wounded both me and my mount; and that you took the cloak from my back and my belongings." He continued: "I have pledged allegiance to Muʿāwiyah. You must listen to him and obey him." Then he descended from the pulpit and entered the palace.[1306]

Ḥasan's peace agreement with Muʿāwiyah and his pledge of allegiance to him: According to the narration of al-Bukhārī: Ḥasan al-Baṣrī narrated, saying: When ʿAlī's son Ḥasan faced Muʿāwiyah, he met him with military forces as numerous as mountains. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ said: "I see armies that will not retreat without killing those in front of them." He continued, "By God, the best of these two men is Muʿāwiyah. If these people kill those, and those kill these, who will take care of the people's affairs? Who will take care of their women and families? Who will make up for their losses?"

Muʿāwiyah sent two men from the Quraysh, the sons of ʿAbd Shams, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Samurah and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir ibn Kurayẓah, to Ḥasan. He told them: "Go to this man, present his case to him, speak to him, and make requests." The envoys went to Ḥasan and presented themselves before him. After speaking with him and making their requests, Ḥasan replied: "We, the children of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, have gained this wealth. The ummah is stained with blood." They said: "Muʿāwiyah presents this and that to you, asking for this and that." Ḥasan then inquired: "Who will guarantee this to me?" The envoys replied: "We guarantee it to you. Whatever you wish, we guarantee it to you." Upon this, Ḥasan made peace with Muʿāwiyah and pledged allegiance to him. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī further stated: "I heard Abū Bakr saying that he had heard the Prophet ﷺ say while standing on the pulpit with ʿAlī's son Ḥasan by his side: 'This son of mine is a leader. It is

[1305] Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyá al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:384.

[1306] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, ed. al-Sulamī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:324 #284.

hoped that God will use him to reconcile two great groups of Muslims'."[1307]

The detailed narration of Shaʿbī in Muḥammad ibn Saʿd's *al-Ṭabaqāt* regarding the events following Ḥasan's peace agreement with Muʿāwiyah: After the people of Iraq pledged allegiance to Ḥasan following the death of his father, they said to him: "Go to those who disobey God and His messenger, who commit great sins and rule over the people with oppression, and fight them. Perhaps God will grant you victory over them." Ḥasan set out to fight the people of Syria. He sent an advance force of twelve thousand men under the command of Qays ibn Saʿd. This vanguard, being composed of five divisions, was known as the Five. Qays moved his forces to the area of Miskīn near the Dujayl River and the city of Anbār near the Euphrates River to set up his base. Upon hearing of this, Muʿāwiyah also mobilized his army and advanced to the Manbiʿ bridge over the Euphrates to confront Ḥasan's forces. While Ḥasan was in the city of Madā'in, one of his men cried out, announcing the death of Qays ibn Saʿd. This announcement led to a great disturbance among the people. They stormed Ḥasan's tent, looted everything inside, even pulling the rug from beneath him, and seized his women and his personal belongings. A man named Ibn Uqayṣar from the sons of Asad attacked Ḥasan with a poisoned dagger, wounding him in the thigh. Ḥasan, after his belongings were looted and after suffering this assassination attempt, departed from the area and settled in the white palace of the Persian king (Kisrā). He cursed the people of that place, saying: "May God curse you! Now I know that there is no goodness among you. Yesterday, you killed my father; today, you do this to me."

In light of these events, Ḥasan sent for ʿAmr ibn Salamah al-Arḥabī. He instructed him to write a letter to Muʿāwiyah, proposing peace. Ḥasan's letter contained three main demands:

1. Debt Repayment: Muʿāwiyah would use the treasury to pay Ḥasan's debts and meet the needs of his family members, including those of his father, ʿAlī.
2. Protection from Cursing ʿAlī: No one would curse ʿAlī in Ḥasan's presence or in his hearing.

[1307] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 3:243 #2704.

3. Annual Tribute: As long as he lived, Ḥasan would receive the taxes from the regions of Fārs, Fasā, and Dārābjird, to be sent to him in Madīnah each year.

Muʿāwiyah accepted these conditions. He sent ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir ibn Qurayẓah and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Samurah to Ḥasan in Madā'in. They met with him, assured him that his terms were accepted, and confirmed that Muʿāwiyah had agreed. Following this, Ḥasan wrote to Muʿāwiyah, inviting him to come.

Muʿāwiyah arrived at the Maskīn river, traveling from the Manbiʿ bridge, in five days, and entered the area on the sixth day. Ḥasan then formally handed over the caliphate to Muʿāwiyah and pledged allegiance to him. They both proceeded to Kūfah, where Ḥasan entered the palace, while Muʿāwiyah camped at Nukhaylah. Ḥasan visited Muʿāwiyah's camp many times, and Muʿāwiyah gave him what he had requested from the treasury. At that time, the treasury contained six million dirhams. Ḥasan prepared to take this sum with him and his family to Madīnah.

However, when Ḥasan was ready to depart, Muʿāwiyah refrained from cursing ʿAlī, as he had done previously, but with Muʿāwiyah's instigation, the people of Baṣrah expelled Ḥasan's representative who was collecting taxes, declaring that the taxes of Fasā, and Dārābjird belonged only to them and could not be taken by anyone else.[1308]

Another narration about peace from Muḥammad ibn Saʿd's *al-Ṭabaqāt* regarding the peace agreement between Ḥasan and Muʿāwiyah: Muʿāwiyah knew well that Ḥasan was not fond of *fitnah* (strife). After the death of ʿAlī, Muʿāwiyah secretly sent a message to Ḥasan, proposing

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[1308] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, ed. al-Sulamī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:318–329 #280, 282, 287; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 3:46 #2495, 3:147 #2682; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, 2:37; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:175 #4813; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, 8:173 #17157, *Dalāʾil al-nubūwah*, 6:444; ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, 11:452 #20980; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 11:142 #31341; Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 5:162, 165; Ibn Aʿtham Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, *al-Futūḥ*, 4:155, 163 (identifies this person as Sinān ibn al-Jarrāḥ of the Banū Asad); Ibn Kathīr Abū al-Fidā' Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar, *al-Bidāyah wa-al-nihāyah*, 11:132; Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb*, 1:388; Muḥibb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭabarī, *Dhakhāʾir al-ʿuqbá*, 140; ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Sallābī, *al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib*, 358, 366.

peace. He made persuasive promises, assuring him that, if anything were to happen to him, and if Ḥasan were still alive, he would give him the caliphate. Ḥasan became confident in these words and promises. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar reported: "I was sitting with Ḥasan when I decided to get up. He held onto my clothes and said, 'Stay seated, O, man.' I sat back down. He then said, 'I have a thought, and I want you to join me in it.' I asked, 'What is your thought?' He replied, 'My thought is this: The strife has lasted long, blood has been shed, family ties have been severed, kinship has come to an end, roads have been cut off, and the borders have been left undefended. I think I should go to Madīnah and leave this matter to Muʿāwiyah'." ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar responded: "May God reward you with good for this act of kindness toward the Muslim community. I am with you in this decision." Ḥasan then said, "Bring me Ḥusayn." Ḥusayn was brought. Ḥasan said, "O, my brother, I have a thought, and I want you to join me in it." Ḥusayn replied, "What is your thought?" Ḥasan explained the same plan to him that he had shared with ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar. Ḥusayn responded: "I swear to God, I will not support Muʿāwiyah and make ʿAlī a liar in his grave. I warn you from doing that." Ḥasan replied: "By God, whenever I wanted to do something, you always opposed me. I have thought of locking you in a house and sealing it with mud until I finish my work." Seeing Ḥasan's anger, Ḥusayn said, "You are the eldest son, and you are the caliph in his stead. We are your followers. Do as you see fit."

After the peace agreement, Ḥasan said to the people: "O, people, at the beginning of this matter, I was the one who desired it the least. I have made it right in the end. I have handed over the right to someone more deserving of it, or I have relinquished it for the benefit of the Muslim community. O, Muʿāwiyah, it was either due to some good known to God or some evil in you that God gave this position to you. I do not know; perhaps it is (the delay of punishment) to test you and to allow you to enjoy (the resources) for a time."[1309] He then recited the verse.[1310]

The sermon delivered by Ḥasan after the decision for peace, as narrated by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and Muḥammad ibn Saʿd: After the death of ʿAlī, the people gathered around Ḥasan. He delivered a sermon

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[1309] Q, al-Anbiyā', 21:111.

[1310] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, ed. al-Sulamī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:330 #289; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalā'*, 3:264.

in which, after praising and thanking God, he said: "The coming of what is to happen is near. Even if people do not wish it, God's decree (His will) will certainly come to pass. I swear by God, I have not caused even a drop of blood to be shed for the sake of the ummah of Muḥammad, nor have I committed the slightest fault equivalent to the weight of a mustard seed. I know what is beneficial and harmful to me. So, you should act according to your own intentions and understanding."[1311] According to ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Sallābī, who wrote about Ḥasan's life, this sermon is a part of the sermon delivered in Madā'in after the decision for peace, as also narrated by al-Balādhurī.

Narration by Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn: Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn said: Ḥasan mounted his horse to go to Muʿāwiyah, taking Qays ibn Saʿd with him. When they entered the camp, the people began to murmur, saying, "Qays has arrived." Upon reaching Muʿāwiyah, Ḥasan swore allegiance to him. He then told Qays to swear allegiance as well. Qays did not extend his hand to Muʿāwiyah. Instead, he placed his hands inside his cloak. Muʿāwiyah, who was seated on a cushion, sat up, placed his hands on his knees, and extended one hand to place it upon Qays's hand. When Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn narrated this, he demonstrated how it happened and smiled.[1312] With Ḥasan's abdication of the caliphate in favor of Muʿāwiyah, the period of the Prophet's [predicted] caliphate, lasting thirty years, came to an end. The ḥadīths and sources related to this event have been presented earlier.

Ḥasan's Complaints About the People of Iraq: If the transmitted reports are correct, Ḥasan openly expressed his dissatisfaction with the people of Iraq and the wrongdoings they had committed against him. Zayd ibn Wahb al-Juhanī narrated: "When Ḥasan was struck in Madā'in, I went to him while he was wounded. I asked him, 'O, son of the Messenger of God, the people are bewildered. What is your opinion?' Ḥasan replied: 'I swear by God, Muʿāwiyah is better than those who claim to be my supporters. They wanted to kill me. They looted all my belongings, took my possessions, and stole them. I swear by God, I would rather ask Muʿāwiyah for a guarantee of my life and live safely with my family than be killed by the people of Kūfah or see my family destroyed. I swear by God, if I continue to fight against

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[1311] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:773 #1364; Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:317 #279.

[1312] Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyá al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:388.

Muʿāwiyah, they will capture me and hand me over to him. It is better for me to make peace with him while I am still honored, rather than be killed by him as his prisoner. Even if he does not kill me but pardons me, as long as the world endures, the sons of Hāshim will be beholden to him [under his thumb]. As long as our family line endures, they will be beholden to the living and the dead among us. I know the people of Kūfah. Those among them who are corrupt will be of no use to me. They are unfaithful. They cannot be trusted in their promises or their actions. They are constantly divided. They claim to be with us in their hearts, but their swords are turned against us'."[1313] Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazari narrates in *al-Kāmil* the following: When Ḥasan was asked, "Why did you do this (make peace)?" he responded: "I grew weary of the world. Whoever trusts the people of Kūfah will be defeated. In every matter, none of them shares the same opinion with the other. They are always in discord. They have no true intentions, whether in good or evil. My father suffered greatly at their hands. I wish they would behave better after me. Among the most quickly crumbling of places, these people rank high."[1314]

The Articles of the Peace Treaty: According to Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn al-Madīnī, Ḥasan's transfer of the caliphate to Muʿāwiyah occurred on the 5th of Rabīʿ al-Awwal in the 41st year of the hijrah. After the peace agreement was made, Ḥasan wrote a treaty to Muʿāwiyah. The text of the treaty is as follows:

"In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful. This is the peace agreement between Ḥasan, the son of ʿAlī, and Muʿāwiyah, the son of Abū Sufyān. Muʿāwiyah has agreed to govern in accordance with the book of God, the sunnah of the Messenger of God, and the path of the rightly guided caliphs, as long as he adheres to these conditions. Ḥasan has agreed to hand over the governance of the Muslims to Muʿāwiyah. After Muʿāwiyah's death, he will have no right to designate his successor. The appointment of the caliph after him will be the responsibility of a consultation (shūrá) council. (According to some reports: After Muʿāwiyah's death, the caliphate will pass to Ḥasan.) Wherever the people of Iraq, Ḥijāz, and Yemen may be, and wherever they are on the earth, they will be safe under the governance of God. Their lives, families, children, and wealth will be secure."

[1313] Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Ṭabarsī, *al-Iḥtijāj*, 1:9.

[1314] Ibn al-Athīr ʿAlī ibn Abī al-Karam Muḥammad, *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, 2:108.

According to a narration by Zuhrī in al-Tabarī's history: When the son of Abbās, ʿUbayd Allāh, learned that Ḥasan was about to make peace with Muʿāwiyah, he sent a message to Muʿāwiyah asking for assurance that his properties and possessions would not be taken from him. Then, he went to join Muʿāwiyah. Saʿd's son, Qays, had made an agreement with his soldiers to continue the fight until Muʿāwiyah gave an assurance regarding the safety of himself and the followers of ʿAlī. [Stipulations in the treaty were that] Muʿāwiyah, the son of Abū Sufyān, must pledge by God to honor these conditions. No harm or evil, whether openly or secretly, shall be directed towards Ḥasan, his brother Ḥusayn, or any of the family of the Messenger of God (the Ahl al-Bayt). They shall never be threatened anywhere. Insults against ʿAlī and the cursing of him in prayers will cease. He will only be mentioned with good words.

According to what is narrated in historical books, Ḥasan asked Muʿāwiyah that ʿAlī should not be cursed in his presence. This request implies that, knowing the Umayyads would not stop cursing ʿAlī, Ḥasan at least sought that they refrain from doing so in his presence. The sum of five million dirhams in the Kūfah treasury is not part of the transfer of power. This amount will not be included in the handover. Furthermore, Muʿāwiyah will send two million dirhams to Imām Ḥasan. The treaty was witnessed by so-and-so, and God is the best witness. Once the agreement was made, Muʿāwiyah asked Ḥasan to announce and explain it to the people. In response, Ḥasan delivered the sermon we have already mentioned.

According to Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, another condition of the peace agreement was the cessation of cursing the Commander of the Faithful (ʿAlī), the omission of his cursing in the *qunūt* (supplication portion of) prayers, and his mention with goodness. Thus, the words of the Messenger of God ﷺ came to fruition: "This son of mine is a *sayyid* (leader)."[1315]

[1315] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 5:163, 174; Abū al-Faraj ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil al-Ṭālibīyīn*, 18; ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa-al-siyāsah*, 150; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 3:264; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 2:12, 13; *Fatḥ al-bārī*, 13:70; Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *Tārīkh al-khulafāʾ*, 194; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, *al-Ṣawāʿiq al-muḥriqah*, 2:399; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāghah*, 4:8; Farīd Wajdī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, 3:443; Muḥammad ibn ʿAqīl, *al-Naṣāʾiḥ al-kāfiyah*, 156.

The Harsh Words Directed at Ḥasan Due to the Peace Treaty: Abū al-Gharīf, ʿUbayd Allāh ibn al-Khalīfah al-Hamdānī, reported that they were twelve thousand strong as the vanguard of Ḥasan's army. Their swords dripped with the anger of battle, ready to fight the people of Syria. Their commander was Abū al-ʿAmr (ʿUmayr ibn Yazīd al-Kindī). When the news of the peace between Ḥasan and Muʿāwiyah arrived, they were filled with sorrow and anger, feeling as if their backs had been broken. When Ḥasan arrived in Kūfah, one of their group, named Abū ʿĀmir Sufyān ibn Laylá, stood up and said: "Peace be upon you, O, one who has humiliated the believers." Ḥasan responded: "O, Abū ʿĀmir, do not say such a thing. I did not humiliate the believers. However, I did not want to kill them for the sake of kingship (the throne)."[1316]

Ḥasan's Response to the Claim That He Desired the Caliphate: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Jubayr ibn Nufayr reported from his father, Jubayr, who said: I asked Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī: "The people say that you wanted the caliphate." Ḥasan replied: "The chiefs of the Arab tribes were in my hands. I was at war with those at war, and at peace with those at peace. I renounced the caliphate to earn God's pleasure and to prevent the shedding of the blood of the followers of Muḥammad ﷺ. How could I, after this, seek the caliphate through the force of the people of the Ḥijāz?"[1317]

[1316] Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 15:93 #38512; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:175 #4812; Abū Ḥanīfah Aḥmad ibn Dāwūd al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 220; Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb*, 1:387; Ibn Manẓūr Muḥammad ibn Mukarram, *Mukhtaṣar tārīkh Dimashq*, 2:406; Muḥibb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭabarī, *Dhakhāʾir al-ʿuqbá*, 139; Muḥammad Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad al-Kandahlawī, *Ḥayāt al-ṣaḥābah*, 3:255; ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Sallābī, *al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib*, 369.

[1317] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:170 #4795; Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:318 #281; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, 2:36; Muḥammad ibn Mukarram ibn Manẓūr al-Ifrīqī, *Mukhtaṣar tārīkh Dimashq*, 2:407; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 3:274; ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Sallābī, *al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib*, 236.

ḤASAN'S LAST DAYS AND HIS ASSASSINATION BY POISON

The Dream Indicating Ḥasan's Impending Death: Ḥasan saw in a dream that the first verse of sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ, "Say: He is God, One" (Q 112:1), was written upon his forehead. His family and close ones gave him glad tidings. When this dream was related to Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyab, he said: "If the dream is true, then only a few days remain of his life," interpreting it as an indication of his imminent death. [1318]

Ḥasan's Final Days and His Poisoning: During his years in Madīnah, Ḥasan was poisoned multiple times. On the occasion of his final poisoning, when the physician came and examined him, he said: "The poison has ruptured this man's intestines." [1319] ʿUmayr ibn Isḥāq said: I, along with a man from Quraysh, went to Ḥasan, the son of ʿAlī. He got up and went to the latrine. Then he came and said: "I have been made to drink poison repeatedly. Never before have I been made to drink anything as intense as this time. I passed a piece of my liver, and I turned it over with this stick." Then he said to that man: "Ask whatever you wish to ask." That man said: "I will ask you nothing. May God grant you well-being." We then departed from him. The next day, we visited again. He was already in the throes of death. Ḥusayn came and sat at his bedside and said: "O, my brother, who did this to you?" Ḥasan said: "Do you want to kill him?" He said: "Yes." Ḥasan said: "If the one I suspect is indeed the one, then God will take more vengeance for me. And if he is not, then I do not want you to kill anyone who is free of guilt on my account." Umm Mūsá said: Jaʿdah, the daughter of al-Ashʿath ibn Qays, gave poison to Ḥasan to drink. He fell ill from it and vomited blood for around forty days. One basin would be placed and another would be removed.[1320]

Some have also transmitted the following: Yazīd, the son of Muʿāwiyah, sent a message to Jaʿdah, saying, "Poison Ḥasan, and then I will marry you." When Ḥasan died, Jaʿdah sent word to Yazīd requesting marriage. Yazīd replied, "We deemed you too much for

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[1318] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:334.

[1319] ʿAbd al-Rāfiʿ al-Dijwī, *al-Dawḥah al-nabawīyah al-sharīfah*, 97.

[1320] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:335 #294; Ibn Abī al-Dunyá ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muḥtaḍarīn*, 113–132.

Ḥasan; we do not find you suitable for ourselves." Ibn Kathīr said: "In my view, this report is not sound." When ʿAlī's son Ḥasan approached the moment of death, he said, "Take me out to the outer part of the house so that I may gaze upon the majesty of the heavens." So they carried his bed outside. He raised his head, looked, and said: "O, God, I seek the reward of my soul from You, for to me, the most precious possession is the soul." [1321]

The death of Ḥasan: According to the majority opinion, Ḥasan died in the forty-ninth year of the hijrah. According to others, he died in the fiftieth or fifty-first year, at the age of forty-eight. [1322] Our opinion is that the fifty-first year is correct, because, given that his birth occurred in the third year of the hijrah, if he died at the age of forty-eight, the total would be fifty-one.

Ḥasan's counsel to Ḥusayn: Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr said in *al-Iṣābah*: There are reports transmitted to us through many paths that when ʿAlī's son Ḥasan was near death, he said to his brother Ḥusayn: "When the Messenger of God ﷺ passed away, our father hoped to succeed him, out of a desire to be his Companion. But God did not grant that to him. Abū Bakr succeeded in his place. When Abū Bakr was about to die, he desired it again, but it was not granted to him; it was given to ʿUmar. When ʿUmar was about to die, he entrusted the matter to a council of six men. He (our father) was one of them. This time, he had no doubt that it would be given to him, yet it was not; ʿUthmān was chosen. When ʿUthmān was killed, people gave their allegiance to him. But then division arose against him. He drew his sword, seeking to secure rule, but never held clear authority. By God, I see this clearly: God, majestic is His glory, does not grant both prophethood and caliphate to us, the People of the House. Do not let the fools of Kūfah deem you insignificant and incite you to rebellion." [1323]

[1321] Ibn Kathīr Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar, *al-Bidāyah wa-al-nihāyah,* 11:209; Abū al-Faraj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat al-ṣafwah*, 1:762.

[1322] Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfah,* 209; Aḥmad ibn Aḥmad al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 3:64; Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 6:256; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, 7:120; Khālid al-Ghayth, *Marwīyāt khilāfat Muʿāwiyah fī tārīkh Muḥammad ibn Ǧarīr al-Ṭabarī*, 402; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 3:277.

[1323] Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb*, 1:391. This report by Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr was also cited by al-Dhahabī, al-Sakhāwī, and al-Suyūṭī: Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 3:278;

The Burial of Ḥasan in the Cemetery of al-Baqīʿ: When Ḥasan entered the throes of death, he said to Ḥusayn: "Bury me beside my [grand]father, the Messenger of God ﷺ. But if you fear bloodshed, then let not blood be spilled on my account. Bury me in the cemetery of the Muslims." When he passed away, Ḥusayn and the freedmen of his household armed themselves. Thereupon Abū Hurayrah said to Ḥusayn: "For the sake of God, fulfill your brother's bequest, for these people will not permit it and will shed blood over it." Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam strongly opposed Ḥasan's burial beside the Prophet ﷺ and said: "I will never allow him to be buried there."

Abū Hurayrah, Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar, Miswar ibn Makhramah, and others persuaded Ḥusayn to abandon the idea. In the end, he was buried beside his mother, al-Zahrāʾ al-Batūl, in the cemetery of al-Baqīʿ al-Gharqad. There are also reports that ʿĀʾishah and Abān ibn ʿUthmān, the son of ʿUthmān, opposed Ḥasan's burial next to his grandfather. However, some have argued that these reports are not sound. [1324]

The Funeral Prayer: Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ, who was at that time the governor of Madīnah on behalf of Muʿāwiyah, led the funeral prayer for Ḥasan, weeping as he did so. Ḥusayn had brought him forward to lead the prayer. He had withdrawn from civil strife and had not fought alongside Muʿāwiyah. He had been governor of Kūfah during the time of ʿUthmān. [1325]

Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī's Account of Ḥasan's Death: Regarding the cause of his death, Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī wrote that Yazīd sent a message to Jaʿdah, the daughter of al-Ashʿath ibn Qays and the wife of Ḥasan, promising her that if she poisoned Ḥasan, he would marry her and give her one hundred thousand dirhams. Acting on this offer, Jaʿdah poisoned Ḥasan, who then suffered for forty days before passing away. When Ḥasan finally died, Jaʿdah sent a message to Yazīd requesting him

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Tārīkh al-Islām, 2:403; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfah al-laṭīfah*, 1:282; Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *Tārīkh al-khulafāʾ*, 148.

[1324] *Gharqad* refers to the large tree known as *awsaj* that grows in Madīnah and its surrounding areas. The cemetery of al-Baqīʿ is named after it. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 3:276; Ibn Taymīyah Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm, *al-Fatāwá*, 27:222; Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:335, 356, 357, 374, 340.

[1325] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:190.

to fulfill his promise. Yazīd replied, "We deemed you too much for Ḥasan; would we take you for ourselves?"

Because he was killed by poison, many scholars considered him to be a martyr. Among the early scholars who held this view were Qatādah and Abū Bakr ibn Ḥafṣ; among the later scholars was Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī. Though Ḥusayn insisted that Ḥasan name the one who poisoned him, he refused to do so. In response to the insistence, he said: "It may be that I was mistaken. You would then punish someone who has no part in this."

Another report states that he said: "O, my brother, the time of my separation has come. The moment of my death has arrived. I am going to meet my Lord. My liver has been torn apart. I know from where it came. I shall contend with him before God. I beseech you, by the right I have over you: do not speak a word concerning this matter. When I die, wash me, shroud me, place me on the washing bench, and bring me to my grandfather's grave so that I may renew my covenant with him. Then take me to the grave of my grandmother, Fāṭimah bint Asad, and bury me there. I beseech you, by God, do not spill even a cupping's worth of blood on my account."

According to another narration, he said: "I have been given poison many times, but never like this time. A piece of my liver came out of my mouth. I stirred it with a stick." Ḥusayn asked, "O, my brother, who gave you the poison?" Ḥasan replied, "Why do you ask? Do you intend to kill him?" Ḥusayn said, "Yes." Ḥasan replied, "If the one I suspect is the one who did it, God is more severe in vengeance than you. And if it is not him, then do not kill an innocent person on my account."

The funeral prayer was led by Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ, who had been appointed governor of Madīnah by Muʿāwiyah. He was buried beside his grandmother, Fāṭimah bint Asad. At the time of his death, Ḥasan was forty-seven years old. He spent seven years with the Messenger of God, thirty years with his father, and ruled as caliph for six months. He lived in Madīnah for nine and a half years. [1326]

[1326] Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, *al-Ṣawāʿiq al-muḥriqah,* 2:409; for a biography of Ḥasan, see also Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *Dhakhāʾir al-ʿuqbá*, 1:127-142; Ibn Kathīr Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar, *al-Bidāyah wa-al-nihāyah,* 8:37.

The Birth of Ḥusayn: In the third year after the hijrah, on the night of the fifth of Dhū al-Qaʿdah, Fāṭimah became pregnant with Ḥusayn. This occurred fifty nights after the birth of Ḥasan, who was born on the fifteenth of Ramaḍān in the third year after the hijrah.[1327] Ḥusayn was born on the third day of Shaʿbān in the fourth year after the hijrah [corresponding to the eighth of January in the year 626 CE].[1328]

His Martyrdom: He was martyred on the tenth day of Muḥarram in the sixty-first year after the hijrah [corresponding to the tenth of October in the year 680 CE.] His mother was Fāṭimah, and his father was ʿAlī. He was the grandson of the Messenger of God ﷺ the master of the youths of Paradise, and one of the two basil plants of the Messenger of God ﷺ. When he was born, his mother brought him to his grandfather, who recited the call to prayer in his ear and performed *taḥnīk* (the rubbing of a date on the infant's palate). On the seventh day, his hair was shaved, and an amount of silver equal to its weight was given as charity to the poor. He was circumcised. His mother nursed him, as did Lubābah bint al-Ḥārith, the wife of his father's uncle al-ʿAbbās, who also nursed him along with her own son Qutham. His grandfather sacrificed an *ʿaqīqah* (sacrifice on behalf of a newborn) on his behalf. According to some reports, he sacrificed two rams.

Abū Rāfiʿ said: "I saw the Messenger of God ﷺ reciting the call to prayer and the *iqāmah* [call of the start of the prayer] in the ears of Ḥusayn."[1329]

His Kunyah: He was known as Abū ʿAbd Allāh, meaning "father of ʿAbd Allāh." During the prayer times, the Messenger of God ﷺ would bring him to the mosque with him. While the Prophet was in prostration, Ḥusayn would climb onto his back. The Messenger of God ﷺ would carry him on his shoulders and back, kiss him, and play with

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[1327] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:226, 1:368; Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb*, 1:384; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 2:60.

[1328] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:369; Muṣʿab ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 40; Abū Bishr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dūlābī, *al-Dhurrīyah al-ṭāhirah*, 84; Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb*, 1:392; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 2:76.

[1329] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:371 #335.

him. He would recite Qurʾānic verses over him as a form of spiritual healing.

Ḥusayn's Wet Nurse: The Dream of Umm al-Faḍl and His Urinating While in His Grandfather's Lap. The wife of al-ʿAbbās, Umm al-Faḍl Lubābah bint al-Ḥārith, said: "O, Messenger of God, I saw in a dream as though a piece of your body was in my house." He replied: "You have seen something good. Fāṭimah will give birth to a son, and you will nurse him with the milk of your son Qutham." When Ḥusayn was born, Umm al-Faḍl nursed him. Umm al-Faḍl said: "One day I brought Ḥusayn to the Messenger of God ﷺ. He took him into his lap and kissed him. While he was in the Messenger of God's lap, he urinated. The Messenger of God ﷺ said: 'Take my son; he has urinated on my garment'." Umm al-Faḍl said: "I took him and pinched him. I said to him, 'You urinated on the garment of the Messenger of God and caused him pain.' Ḥusayn cried. He ﷺ said: 'O, Umm al-Faḍl, you have caused me pain by making my [grand]son cry.' He asked for water, and he poured it over the spot where the urine had touched his garment. Then he said: 'If it is a male child who has urinated, pour water over the urine stain from above; but if it is a female child, then wash the urine stain'." [1330]

The Report of Abū Dāwūd: Lubābah bint al-Ḥārith, the wife of al-ʿAbbās, narrated and said: "Ḥusayn, the son of ʿAlī, urinated while in the lap of the Messenger of God ﷺ. I said, 'Put on another garment and give me the one he urinated on so I may wash it.' He replied: 'The urine of a female child is to be washed, but for the urine of a male child, it is sufficient to pour water on it'." [1331] Among the jurists, there is a divergence of opinion on this matter. According to Ḥanafī and Mālikī jurisprudence, in all cases the urine must be washed. According to the Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbalī schools, it is sufficient to pour water over it. There

[1330] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:371 #336, 338.

[1331] Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʿath, *al-Sunan*, 1:279 #375; Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Mājah, *al-Sunan*, 1:174 #522; Muḥammad ibn Khuzaymah, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:143 #282; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 25:26 #40; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 1:271 #588; Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ maʿānī al-āthār*, 1:92 #591; al-Ḥusayn ibn Masʿūd al-Baghawī, *Sharḥ al-sunnah*, 2:86 #295.

are numerous authentic (*ṣaḥīḥ*) ḥadīths narrated by many Companions regarding both pouring and washing in this context. [1332]

The Messenger of God ﷺ would be grieved by Ḥusayn's weeping.

خَرَجَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مِنْ بَيْتِ عَائِشَةَ رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنْهَا. فَمَرَّ عَلَى بَيْتِ فَاطِمَةَ. فَسَمِعَ حُسَيْنًا يَبْكِي رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنْهُ فَقَالَ: «أَلَمْ تَعْلَمِي أَنَّ بُكاءَهُ يُؤْذِينِي؟»

One day, the Messenger of God ﷺ came out of the house of ʿĀ'ishah and passed by Fāṭimah. He heard Ḥusayn crying. He said to her: "Do you not know that his weeping causes me distress (grieves me)?" [1333]

The Wives of Ḥusayn

Laylá: Daughter of Murrah, son of ʿUrwah ibn Masʿūd al-Thaqafī.
Shāh-i Zanān: The daughter of Yazdigird, the king of Persia.
Sulāfah: From the Banū ʿAmr of the tribe of Kudāʿah.
Umm Isḥāq: The daughter of Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allāh.
Rabab: The daughter of Imruʾ al-Qays.

The Children of Ḥusayn: Ḥusayn had four sons and two daughters.

The Sons of Ḥusayn

ʿAlī al-Akbar (ʿAlī the elder): His mother was Laylá, daughter of Murrah son of ʿUrwah ibn Masʿūd, of the Thaqīf tribe. Laylá's mother was Maymūnah, daughter of Abū Sufyān (and thus the sister of Muʿāwiyah). He was martyred at Ṭaff (i.e., Karbalāʾ) alongside his father. He had no offspring.

[1332] For these narrations see: al-Bukhārī, *Wuḍūʾ* 59; Muslim, *Ṭahārah* 101, 104; al-Nasāʾī, *Ṭahārah* 188; Isḥāq, *Ṭahārah* 54; Ibn Mājah, *Ṭahārah* 77 (524); al-Dārimī, *Wuḍūʾ* 63; Mālik, *Ṭahārah* 110; *al-Musnad*, 4:356, 464; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahārah* 135 (377); al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 1:166, 4:348.

[1333] Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 3:116 #2847; Ibn ʿAsākir ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 14:171.

ʿAlī al-Aṣghar (ʿAlī the younger): His epithet (*laqab*) was *Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn* (The Adornment of the Worshippers). His mother was the daughter of Yazdigird, the king of Persia. The progeny of Ḥusayn continued through this younger ʿAlī.

Jaʿfar: His mother was Sulāfah, from the Banū ʿAmr of the Kudāʿah tribe.

ʿAbd Allāh: His mother was Umm Isḥāq, daughter of Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allāh. He was martyred while in his father's lap. [1334]

The Daughters of Ḥusayn

Fāṭimah: Her mother was Umm Isḥāq, daughter of Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allāh.

Sukaynah: Her mother was Rabab, daughter of Imru' al-Qays.

The Mother of ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn and Views on Her Name: There are several opinions regarding the name of the mother of ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn. The genealogy scholar, ʿAḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥasanī (d. 828 AH), who is known for his work in genealogy and as a descendant of Ḥasan, provides the following information: There is a difference of opinion regarding the name of the mother of ʿAlī al-Aṣghar. The most well-known opinion is that she was Shāh-i Zanān, the daughter of Yazdigird, the king of Persia (the Queen of Women). [1335] Another opinion is that her name was Shahrbānū. According to Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, her name was Ghazālah. During the conquest of Mada'in (Ctesiphon), the

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[1334] Ibn ʿInabah Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥasanī, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib fī ansāb āl Abī Ṭālib*, 288. Many genealogical sources report the following: The daughter of Yazdigird who was sent to Madinah as a captive was not only Ḥusayn's wife; Ḥurays ibn Jābir al-Juʿfī had sent three of the defeated king's daughters to Madīnah. ʿAlī persuaded ʿUmar that these women should not be treated as slaves but should be manumitted and freed, and ʿUmar agreed. These women converted to Islam. One married Ḥusayn and bore him ʿAlī al-Aṣghar (Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn), the second married ʿAbd Allāh, the son of ʿUmar, and bore Sālim, and the third married Muḥammad, the son of Abū Bakr, and bore Qāsim. Thus, ʿAlī the son of Ḥusayn, Sālim the son of ʿAbd Allāh, and Qāsim the son of Muḥammad were cousins, and all three became leading scholars of Madīnah.

[1335] In our view, this is likely not a personal name, but rather a title. In Persian, "*Shāh-i Zanān*" means "Queen of Women."

daughters of Yazdigird were taken captive and sent to Madīnah by Ḥurays ibn Jābir al-Juʿfī.

The progeny (*dhurrīyah*) of Ḥusayn continued through ʿAlī al-Aṣghar, who became known by the epithet *Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn* (The Adornment of the Worshippers).

[TN: according to the sources of Ahl al-Bayt, Ḥusayn had three sons. Muʿāwiyah did many despicable and evil things that split apart the unity of Muslims. When Muʿāwiyah chose to go against the *jamāʿah* (majority consensus) and divided the Muslim community by fighting against the Rightly Guided Caliph, ʿAlī, Muʿāwiyah instituted many wicked innovations. In addition to establishing the practice of cursing ʿAlī from the pulpits of the Mosques and in the prayers, Muʿāwiyah forced people to curse ʿAlī and killed anyone who refused. He persecuted the supporters of ʿAlī in every way, threatening their persons, their families, and their properties. No one who supported ʿAlī was safe from Muʿāwiyah and his henchmen. Muʿāwiyah even went so far as to ban the naming of any children ʿAlī.

Ḥusayn deliberately named all three of his boys ʿAlī. They were known as ʿAlī the elder, ʿAli the younger, and the middle ʿAlī. The elder ʿAlī was killed in the battle defending his father. The younger ʿAlī was the months-old baby who was killed by the arrow when Ḥusayn held up the infant and asked the troops to have mercy and allow some water for the innocent thirsty children. The middle ʿAlī was sick and bedridden in the days leading up to the battle. He could hardly stand, much less fight. By the grace of God, and the protection of his aunt, Zaynab, his life was spared. This surviving ʿAlī devoted the remainder of his life to prayer, fasting, and caring for the poor, and came to be known as *Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn* (The Adornment of the Worshippers). See: Ali J. Hussain, *Jewels & Pearls in the History of the Jalālīs* (Chicago: SJL Press, 2025).]

THE MESSENGER OF GOD SAID: GOD LOVES THOSE WHO LOVE ḤUSAYN

The Narration of Ḥusayn's Being among the People of Paradise: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ṣābiṭ said: " ʿAlī's son, Ḥusayn, entered the mosque. A Companion, Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh, said: 'Whoever wants to look at the master of the youth of Paradise should look at him (indicating Ḥusayn). I heard this from the Messenger of God ﷺ'." [1336]

The Prophet's ﷺ love for Ḥusayn and his prayer for those who love him:

عَنْ يَعْلَى الْعَامِرِيِّ. أَنَّهُ خَرَجَ مَعَ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ إِلَى طَعَامٍ دُعُوا لَهُ. قَالَ: فَاسْتَمْثَلَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ – قَالَ عَفَّانُ: قَالَ وُهَيْبٌ: فَاسْتَقْبَلَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ – أَمَامَ الْقَوْمِ، وَحُسَيْنٌ مَعَ غِلْمَانٍ يَلْعَبُ. فَأَرَادَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَنْ يَأْخُذَهُ . قَالَ: فَطَفِقَ الصَّبِيُّ يَفِرُّ هَاهُنَا مَرَّةً، وَهَاهُنَا مَرَّةً، فَجَعَلَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يُضَاحِكُهُ حَتَّى أَخَذَهُ. قَالَ: فَوَضَعَ إِحْدَى يَدَيْهِ تَحْتَ قَفَاهُ، وَالْأُخْرَى تَحْتَ ذَقْنِهِ، فَوَضَعَ فَاهُ عَلَى فِيهِ، فَقَبَّلَهُ. وَقَالَ: « حُسَيْنٌ مِنِّي وَأَنَا مِنْ حُسَيْنٍ. أَحَبَّ اللهُ مَنْ أَحَبَّ حُسَيْنًا. حُسَيْنٌ سِبْطٌ مِنَ الْأَسْبَاطِ ».

Yaʿlá ibn Murrah al-ʿĀmirī narrated: The companions of the Messenger of God ﷺ were going to a meal to which they had been invited. The Messenger of God ﷺ walked a little quickly ahead of those with him. Ḥusayn was playing with the children. The Messenger of God ﷺ wanted to catch him. The child was running here and there. He laughed with him, and finally caught him. He placed one hand on his neck and the other hand under his chin, put his mouth on his mouth, kissed him, and said: "Ḥusayn is from me, and I am from Ḥusayn. God loves

[1336] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:775 #1372; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:421 #6966; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 3:397 #1874; Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:377 #343.

whoever loves Ḥusayn. Ḥusayn is a whole community by himself."[1337] In this ḥadīth, the word "*sibṭ*" is used. In reality, "*sibṭ*" refers to a grandson from a daughter. The scholars explaining the ḥadīth have stated that Ḥusayn, being the grandson of Fāṭimah, is meant by the phrase: "Ḥusayn is a whole community by himself." This is the interpretation we have provided.[1338]

Ḥusayn performed Ḥajj frequently: With his camels, Ḥusayn performed Ḥajj twenty-five times traveling on foot.[1339]

ʿUmar valued Ḥusayn greatly: Ḥusayn's saying to ʿUmar: "Get down from my father's pulpit": Ḥusayn said: I went up to the pulpit of ʿUmar (while he was delivering a sermon), and I told him: "Get down from my father's pulpit, go up to your own father's pulpit." He said to me: "My father's pulpit does not exist," and he made me sit next to him. After he got down from the pulpit, he took me to his house and asked: "Who taught you this?" I said: "No one taught me this." Then he said: "O, my dear son, come visit us from time to time." One day I went to ʿUmar. He was having a private conversation with Muʿāwiyah. His son, ʿAbd Allāh, was at the door, and he had not allowed him inside. When I saw this, I left. Later, I encountered him. He asked: "O, my dear son, why didn't you come to us?" I replied: "I came to you, but you were meeting with Muʿāwiyah. Your son ʿAbd Allāh was not allowed in, so I left." ʿUmar said: "For you to come to me, you have more right than my

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[1337] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 29:102 #17561; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah,* 2:772 #1361; Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 6:123 #3775; Ibn Mājah Muḥammad ibn Yazīd, *al-Sunan*, 1:101 #144; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:427 #6971; Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 12:102 #32860; *al-Musnad*, 501 #808; Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:384 #352; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 3:33 #2589; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:194 #4820; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh, *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥābah,* 19:314 #6039; Abū Bishr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dūlābī, *al-Kuná wa-al-asmāʾ*, 2:315 #386; Muḥibb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭabarī, *Dhakhāʾir al-ʿuqbá*, 133.

[1338] Ibn al-Athīr al-Mubārak ibn Muḥammad al-Jazarī, *al-Nihāyah fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa-al-athar*, 2:840.

[1339] Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 3:437 #15760; Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá* (the five additional sections), ed. al-Sulamī, 1:400 #371, 372, 373; Ibn ʿAsākir ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 14:180.

son ʿAbd Allāh. The one who causes the hair you see on our heads to grow is God, and then it is you (the Ahl al-Bayt)," he said. [1340]

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ's words about Ḥusayn: Walid ibn al-Ayzār said: ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ was sitting in the shade of the Kaʿbah. When he saw ʿAlī's son Ḥusayn coming, he said: "This is the one who is most loved by those in the heavens among the inhabitants of the earth."[1341]

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ's son ʿAbd Allāh's words about Ḥusayn: Ismāʿīl ibn Rajāʾ narrated from his father. His father Rajāʾ said: "I was in the mosque of the Messenger of God ﷺ in a gathering with Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ. The son of ʿAlī, Ḥusayn ﷺ passed by. He greeted us, and those sitting replied: 'Peace be upon you.' ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr remained silent until the greeting was over. Then ʿAbd Allāh loudly said: 'Peace and God's mercy and blessings be upon you.' He then turned to the others and said: 'Shall I tell you about the one who is most loved by the people of the heavens, more than anyone on earth?' The people sitting replied: 'Yes.' Pointing to Ḥusayn, he said: 'He, the one sitting here, is the most beloved'."[1342] By God, since the battle of Ṣiffīn, he has not spoken to me with even a single word. If he is pleased with me, it is more beloved to me than having my red camels, he said. Abū Saʿīd said: "Will you not apologize to him?" ʿAbd Allāh replied: "Yes, I will apologize." They agreed to go to him the next morning. In the morning, I also went with them. Abū Saʿīd asked for permission to enter Ḥusayn's presence, and Ḥusayn granted him permission. Abū Saʿīd entered. Then, Abū Saʿīd asked for permission for ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr to enter. After some effort, permission was granted

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[1340] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:394 #363. This event has also been narrated more briefly in the following works: ʿAlī ibn ʿUmar al-Dāraquṭnī, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 5 #4; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 1:141; Aslam ibn Sahl Bahjal, *Tārīkh Wāsiṭ*, 154; Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿIjlī, *al-Thiqāt*, 1:302-310; Ibn ʿAsākir ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 12:175; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar tārīkh Dimashq*, 2:436; Muḥibb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭabarī, *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍirah fī manāqib al-ʿasharah*, 94; Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 6:404 #1322; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 5:278; *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 5:100; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 2:78. After narrating this event, Ibn Ḥajar noted that it was transmitted by al-Khaṭīb and that its chain is sound.

[1341] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:395 #364.

[1342] In the narration of Ibn al-Aʿrābī: it is the one sitting on the knees. In al-Ṭabarānī: it is the one with his back turned to us. In the *Tārīkh* of Ibn ʿAsākir: it is the one walking. We have adopted the narration of Ibn al-Aʿrābī.

for him as well, and he entered. Abū Saʿīd moved aside, and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr sat between him and Ḥusayn. Abū Saʿīd said: "O, son of the Messenger of God ﷺ yesterday when you passed by, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr spoke about you, and I will tell you what he said." Upon this, Ḥusayn said: "O, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr, did you know the one most beloved to the people of the heavens, more than anyone on earth? Then, what was the reason for your fighting with me and my father in Ṣiffīn?" I swear by God, my father was better than me. ʿAbd Allāh replied: "That is true." However, my father ʿAmr complained to the Messenger of God ﷺ and said: " ʿAbd Allāh prays every night and fasts every day." Upon this, the Messenger of God ﷺ said to me: "O, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr, pray and sleep. Fast [on some days] and do not fast on some days. Obey ʿAmr." On the day of Ṣiffīn, my father swore that I would go with them, and I went. I swear by God, I was never with them, never drew a sword, never struck anyone with a spear, and never shot an arrow. It seemed that Ḥusayn accepted my apology. [1343]

Abū Hurayrah's words about Ḥusayn: Abū al-Muhazzim said: We were at the funeral of a woman. Abū Hurayrah was with us. At that moment, the funeral of a man was brought. He placed the man's body between himself and the woman's funeral and prayed both of their funeral prayers together. As we were leaving, Ḥusayn did not want to come and sat down on the road. Abū Hurayrah started to wipe the dust off Ḥusayn's feet with his garment. Ḥusayn said: "O, Abū Hurayrah, are you doing this?" Abū Hurayrah replied: "Leave me. I swear by God, if people knew about you as I do, they would carry you on their necks."[1344]

Ḥusayn's wise words: Jaʿd (Juʿayd) ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Hamdānī said: I went to see ʿAlī's son Ḥusayn. He had his daughter Sukaynah on his chest. He called his wife, Imru' al-Qays's daughter, Rabāb: "Come take your daughter," he said. Then he asked me to describe the Arabs (or the youth). I said: "They are like arrows that have been shot." He asked me to describe the freed slaves, and I said: "They profit from interest, and they are very greedy for the world." Upon hearing this, he recited the

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[1343] Ibn al-Aʿrābī Abū Saʿīd Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muʃam*, 3:1028 #2205; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-awsaṭ*, 4:181 #3917; Ibn ʿAsākir ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 31:275; Ibn al-Athīr ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Usd al-ghābah*, 3:345 #863.

[1344] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:396 #366; Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 11:520.

verse: "We belong to God and to Him we will return." [1345] He continued: "I swear by God, we used to say that with these two types, God would support and strengthen His religion." Then he said: "O, Juʿayd, people are of four kinds. One group has good morals but no share in goodness and kindness. Another group has a share in goodness and kindness, but their morals are not good. A third group has both good morals and a share in goodness and kindness. These are the most virtuous among people. A fourth group has neither good morals nor a share in goodness and kindness. These are the worst among people." [1346]

Ḥusayn's additional supplication in the *qunūt* [supplication] of his *witr* [recommended, but not mandatory] prayer: Muḥammad ibn Abī Muḥammad al-Baṣrī narrated, saying: ʿAlī's son Ḥusayn would recite the following during the *qunūt* of his *witr* prayer: "O, God, You are the One Who sees, yet You cannot be seen. You are in the exalted place to observe. The first and the last belong to You. We seek Your protection from humiliation and disgrace." [1347]

Ḥusayn's humility and his sitting with the poor to share a meal: Muḥammad ibn ʿAmr ibn Ḥazm's son, Abū Bakr, narrated, saying: Ḥusayn passed by some poor people who were eating in the ṣuffah area. They invited him to join their meal. He sat down with them and said: "God does not love those who are arrogant." Then he said to them: "I have accepted your invitation; you too accept mine." They agreed. He took them to his house. He said to his wife, Rabāb: "Bring out what is in the house for them." [1348]

[1345] Q, al-Baqarah, 2:156.

[1346] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:404 #378; Ibn Abī al-Dunyá Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *Kītāb al-ʿaql*, 58-78; Ibn ʿAsākir ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 13:253.

[1347] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:409 #383.

[1348] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:411 #387; Ibn ʿAsākir ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan narrated this via the chain of Muḥammad ibn Saʿd in his *Tārīkh Dimashq*.

NARRATIONS ABOUT BEING FATED TO BE KILLED AT KARBALĀʾ

The dream of the Messenger of God ﷺ and the prophecy of Ḥusayn's martyrdom: ʿAbd Allāh ibn Wahb ibn Zamʿah narrated: Umm Salamah told me: One day, the Messenger of God ﷺ lay down to sleep. He woke up in fear and sadness. He lay down again, slept, and woke up with anxiety. He was even more sorrowful than before. He lay down once more, slept, and woke up in fear. He had red soil in his hand and was mixing it with his hand. Tears were flowing from his eyes. I asked, "O, Messenger of God, what is this soil?" He replied, "Jibrīl informed me that my son Ḥusayn will be killed in the land of Iraq. I asked Jibrīl to show me the land where he would be killed, and he brought me this soil. This is that very soil." [1349]

Another narration of Umm Salamah: Umm Salamah said: The Messenger of God ﷺ told me, "Sit at the door and let no one come to me." Little Ḥusayn came, and I tried to stop him, but he entered. After he stayed inside for a long time, thinking that he might be upset with me, I looked inside through the door. The child (Ḥusayn) was sleeping on his [grand]father's chest. Tears were flowing from his eyes, and he was mixing something in his hand. He ordered me to come in. When I entered, I said, "O, Messenger of God, your son came, and I tried to stop him, but he entered before me. After staying inside for a long time, I feared you were upset with me. I looked inside, and I saw you mixing something in your hand, while the child was sleeping on your chest. Tears were flowing from your eyes." He replied, "Jibrīl came to me and said that your ummah will kill him. He brought me the soil where he will be killed. The thing I was mixing was that soil." [1350]

Another narration: Wakīʿ ibn al-Jarrāḥ (with some doubt) narrated from either ʿĀʾishah or Umm Salamah: The Prophet ﷺ told one of them: "A previously unseen angel came to me and said: 'Your son

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[1349] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:423 #411; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 3:109, 23:308 #2811, 2813, 2814, 2815, 2817, 2819, 2820; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 4:398 #8202.

[1350] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:424 #412; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 17:153 #19214.

Ḥusayn will be killed. If you wish, I will bring you the soil of the place where he will be killed.' He brought me this red soil." [1351]

The dream of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās:

عَنِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ قَالَ: « رَأَيْتُ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فِيمَا يَرَى النَّائِمُ بِنِصْفِ النَّهَارِ. وَهُوَ قَائِمٌ أَشْعَثُ أَغْبَرَ، بِيَدِهِ قَارُورَةٌ فِيهَا دَمٌ. فَقُلْتُ: بِأَبِي أَنْتَ وَأُمِّي يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ، مَا هَذَا ؟ قَالَ: هَذَا دَمُ الْحُسَيْنِ وَأَصْحَابِهِ. لَمْ أَزَلْ أَلْتَقِطُهُ مُنْذُ الْيَوْمِ. فَأَحْصَيْنَا ذَلِكَ الْيَوْمَ. فَوَجَدُوهُ قُتِلَ فِي ذَلِكَ الْيَوْمِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلاَمُ. »

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās narrated: He said, "I saw the Messenger of God ﷺ in a dream at midday. He was standing, and his clothes were covered in dust and dirt. He had a bottle in his hand, which contained blood. I said, 'O, Messenger of God, may my father and mother be sacrificed for you, what is this in your hand?' He replied, 'This is the blood of Ḥusayn and his companions. I have been collecting it since that day'." The person who narrated this from ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās said, "We calculated the day, and it turned out to be the day Ḥusayn was martyred." [1352]

The narration of ʿAlī regarding the martyrdom of Ḥusayn:

[1351] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 44:143 #26524; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:770 #1357; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār* (*Musnad al-Bazzār*), 13:306 #6900; ʿAbd ibn Ḥumayd, *al-Muntakhab*, 442 #1533; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 6:470; *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, 6:249 #6316. This ḥadīth is transmitted from Companions such as Umm Salamah, the Mother of the Believers ʿĀʾishah, Zaynab bint Jaḥsh, Umm al-Faḍl Lubābah bint al-Ḥārith, al-Sudayy ibn ʿAjlān, Abū Hurayrah, and Anas ibn Mālik. In some narrations, Jibrīl [TN: the angel Gabriel] is mentioned speifically instead of the generic word "angel." Although the version narrated by Muḥammad ibn Saʿd from ʿĀʾishah, the Mother of the Believers, is more detailed, we did not include it because it comes through al-Wāqidī.

[1352] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 4:336 #2553; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:779 #1381, 2:781 #1389; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 3:184 #2753; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 4:397 #8201; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubūwah*, 6:471.

عَنْ عَبْدِ اللهِ بْنِ نُجَيٍّ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ. أَنَّهُ سَارَ(سَافَرَ) مَعَ عَلِيٍّ، وَكَانَ صَاحِبَ مِطْهَرَتِهِ. فَلَمَّا حَاذَى نِينَوَى وَهُوَ مُنْطَلِقٌ إِلَى صِفِّينَ، فَنَادَى عَلِيٌّ: اصْبِرْ أَبَا عَبْدِ اللهِ، اصْبِرْ أَبَا عَبْدِ اللهِ بِشَطِّ الْفُرَاتِ. قُلْتُ: وَمَاذَا ؟ قَالَ: دَخَلْتُ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ ذَاتَ يَوْمٍ وَعَيْنَاهُ تَفِيضَانِ. قُلْتُ: يَا نَبِيَّ اللهِ، أَغْضَبَكَ أَحَدٌ، مَا شَأْنُ عَيْنَيْكَ تَفِيضَانِ ؟ قَالَ: « بَلْ قَامَ مِنْ عِنْدِي جِبْرِيلُ قَبْلُ. فَحَدَّثَنِي أَنَّ الْحُسَيْنَ يُقْتَلُ بِشَطِّ الْفُرَاتِ. قَالَ: فَقَالَ: هَلْ لَكَ إِلَى أَنْ أُشِمَّكَ مِنْ تُرْبَتِهِ ؟ قَالَ: قُلْتُ: نَعَمْ . فَمَدَّ يَدَهُ، فَقَبَضَ قَبْضَةً مِنْ تُرَابٍ فَأَعْطَانِيهَا. فَلَمْ أَمْلِكْ عَيْنَيَّ أَنْ فَاضَتَا. »

ʿAbd Allāh ibn Nujayy narrated from his father Nujayy, who carried ʿAlī's cleaning materials. He said: "I set out on a journey with ʿAlī. When we reached the area near Naynawāh (in the vicinity of Mawṣil) while heading toward Ṣiffīn, ʿAlī called out twice, 'O, father of ʿAbd Allāh, O, father of ʿAbd Allāh, stop by the bank of the Euphrates River and be patient'."

Nujayy said: "What is it?" ʿAlī replied: "One day I went to the Messenger of God ﷺ, and tears were flowing from his eyes. I asked, 'O, Messenger of God, has someone angered you? Why are you crying?' He said: 'A little while ago, Jibrīl (Gabriel) left me. He informed me that Ḥusayn will be killed by the bank of the Euphrates River. He asked me, 'Would you like me to let you smell the soil of that place?' I said yes. He extended his hand, took a handful of soil, and gave it to me. I could not hold back my tears'."[1353]

عَنْ عَلِيٍّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى عَنْهُ قَالَ:« لَيُقْتَلَنَّ الْحُسَيْنُ قَتْلا. وَإِنِّي لأَعْرِفُ التُّرْبَةَ الَّتِي يُقْتَلُ فِيهَا قَرِيبًا مِنَ النَّهْرَيْنِ. »

[1353] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 2:77 #648; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār* (*Musnad al-Bazzār*), 3:101 #884; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 1:298 #363; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 3:176 #2743; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 15:98 #38522; Aḥmad ibn ʿAmr al-Daḥḥāk al-Shaybānī, *al-Āḥād wa-al-mathānī*, 1:405 #427; Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:429 #417.

Another narration: ʿAlī said: "Ḥusayn will be killed. I also know the land where he will be killed. It lies near two rivers." [1354]

Narrations indicating he would be killed in Karbalāʾ: Anas ibn al-Ḥārith narrated: I heard the Messenger of God ﷺ say, referring to Ḥusayn: "This son of mine will be killed in a land called Karbalāʾ. Whoever witnesses that (event) should support him, should be with him." [When the time came,] Anas ibn al-Ḥārith went to Karbalāʾ and was killed alongside Ḥusayn. May God have mercy on them.[1355]

Karbalāʾ is *karb* and *balāʾ*: anguish and affliction.

عَنِ الْمُطَّلِبِ بن عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بن حَنْطَبٍ قَالَ: لَمَّا أُحِيطَ بِالْحُسَيْنِ بن عَلِيٍّ قَالَ: مَا اسْمُ هَذِهِ الأَرْضِ؟ قِيلَ: كَرْبَلاءُ. فَقَالَ: صَدَقَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: « إِنَّهَا أَرْضُ كَرْبٍ وَبَلاءٍ. »

Al-Muṭṭalib ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥanṭab said: When Ḥusayn was surrounded, he asked, "What is the name of this land?" They replied, "Karbalāʾ." He said, "The Messenger of God ﷺ has spoken the truth: 'Indeed, this land is a land of *karb* (anguish) and *balāʾ* (affliction)'."[1356]

[1354] Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 3:185 #2755; Ibn Abī Shaybah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muṣannaf*, 11:140 #31333; Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:429 #418.

[1355] Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Baghawī, *Muʿjam al-ṣaḥābah*, 1:19 #46.

[1356] Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 3:176 #2744, 3:217 #2834; Aḥmad ibn ʿAmr al-Daḥḥāk al-Shaybānī, *al-Āḥād wa-al-mathānī*, 1:404-424; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī, *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥābah*, 5:346 #1699.

THE EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE MASSACRE AT KARBALĀʾ

Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, by combining ten transmissions concerning the killing of Ḥusayn, son of ʿAlī, provides us with the following account: The People of Kūfah Invite Ḥusayn to Revolt Against Muʿāwiyah: When Muʿāwiyah took allegiance from the people on behalf of his son Yazīd to succeed him, Ḥusayn, son of ʿAlī, did not give allegiance. While Muʿāwiyah was still alive, the people of Kūfah began writing letters to Ḥusayn, inviting him to rise in revolt. Ḥusayn refused. A group of Kūfans came to Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah and requested him to lead an uprising; he declined and then informed Ḥusayn of the situation. He said: "These men want to use us as a means and to waste our blood." Ḥusayn became contemplative, at times inclined to go to them, at other times considering it better to remain where he was.

Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī came to Ḥusayn and said: "O, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, I counsel you out of compassion. News has reached me that your supporters in Kūfah are writing you letters urging you to revolt. Do not rise up. May God have mercy on you. Your father once said in Kūfah: 'I have become weary of them, and they of me. I have begun to detest them, and they detest me. I have found no loyalty in them. He who succeeds through them succeeds with the most harmful portion. By God, they have no firm intent, no diligence, and no patience in the face of the sword'."

When Ḥasan died, Musayyab ibn Najabah al-Fazārī, along with a few others, came to Ḥusayn requesting that he depose Muʿāwiyah. They said to him: "We know what you and your brother think regarding Muʿāwiyah." Ḥusayn replied: "I hope that God rewards my brother al-Ḥasan for his desire to refrain from strife (*fitnah*), and I hope He rewards me for my desire to struggle against the unjust."

While this was taking place, Marwān wrote to Muʿāwiyah, saying that he did not trust Ḥusayn and that he suspected him of awaiting an opportunity for sedition. Thereupon, Muʿāwiyah wrote to Ḥusayn: "Whoever makes a promise to God must be faithful to it and fulfill it. I have heard that some of the people of Kūfah are inviting you to revolt. You already have experience with these people. They ruined the efforts of your father and your brother. Fear God and remember the covenant

you have made. Whenever you set traps against me, I too shall set traps against you." Ḥusayn wrote back to him: "I received your letter. I am not as you suppose based on the reports that have reached you. I do not desire conflict or war with you. However, I do not think I will have any excuse before God if I fail to strive (*jihād*) against you. I know of no greater tribulation (*fitnah*) than your being in authority over the people."

Muʿāwiyah's Bequest to His Son Yazīd: When Muʿāwiyah was on his deathbed, he called for his son Yazīd, gave him his final counsel, and said: "Take care with Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, the grandson of the Messenger of God ﷺ through his daughter Fāṭimah. He is the most beloved of people. Maintain ties of kinship with him and be gentle. Matters will be rectified. But if something happens from his side, then I hope that God will protect you from him by the hands of those who killed his father and abandoned his brother, bringing humiliation upon him."

Muʿāwiyah died on the night of the fifteenth of Rajab in the year 60 AH. After his death, the people [in Damascus] pledged allegiance to Yazīd. Yazīd sent ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn ʿUways al-ʿĀmirī with a letter to Madīnah. The letter was addressed to the governor of Madīnah, his uncle al-Walīd, the son of ʿUtbah. In the letter, the governor was commanded to call the people to pledge allegiance and to obtain their oath of allegiance on Yazīd's behalf. The letter contained the following directive: "Begin with the notables of Quraysh, and the first one you must call is ʿAlī's son Ḥusayn. For the Commander of the Faithful (i.e., Muʿāwiyah) advised me to treat him gently and with kindness." Immediately, during the night, al-Walīd sent word to Ḥusayn and to ʿAbd Allāh, the son of al-Zubayr, informing them of Muʿāwiyah's death and inviting them to give allegiance to Yazīd. They replied, "Let the morning come, so that we may see what the people will do."

The Departure of Ḥusayn to Makkah: Ḥusayn took lesson from his father and brother. He considered leaving the people without guidance to be a source of *fitnah* (discord). Acting swiftly, he left his house. ʿAbd Allāh, the son of al-Zubayr, also left with him and said to Ḥusayn: "He is the Yazīd you know. By God, he has neither humanity nor steadfastness."

Previously, al-Walīd (the governor of Madīnah) had dealt harshly with Ḥusayn. Ḥusayn, in turn, had removed the turban from his head and spoken harsh words to him. Al-Walīd responded, saying, "Only a lion could resemble the father of ʿAbd Allāh (i.e., ʿAlī)." Some of those

who were present in the council of Marwān or al-Walīd said: "Kill Ḥusayn." But al-Walīd said: "The one you speak of is not someone whose blood can be shed among the Banū ʿAbd Manāf." When al-Walīd returned to his home, his wife, Asmāʾ, the daughter of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of Hārith ibn Hishām, asked him: "Did you revile Ḥusayn?" He replied, "He began first." She said, "So if Ḥusayn curses you, you will curse him back? If he curses your father, will you curse his father?" He answered, "No."

That night, Ḥusayn and ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr departed to head toward Makkah. In the morning, the people pledged allegiance to Yazīd. They searched for Ḥusayn and ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, but did not find them. The two of them arrived in Makkah. Ḥusayn lodged at the house of ʿAbbās, the son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. ʿAbd Allāh, the son of al-Zubayr, wore the *khirqah* (cloak) of the Maʿāfir tribe of Yemen and stayed in the Ḥijr Ismāʿīl, which is to the north of the Kaʿbah. He began to incite the people against the Banū Umayyah. Morning and evening, he would visit Ḥusayn, urging him to go to ʿIrāq, saying, "The people of ʿIrāq are the partisans of you and your father." Miswar ibn Makhramah said: "The father of ʿAbd Allāh (i.e., Ḥusayn) acted hastily. At this moment, the son of al-Zubayr (ʿAbd Allāh) is goading Ḥusayn into going to ʿIrāq so that he (ʿAbd Allāh) can be left alone in Makkah."

Those who advised Ḥusayn not to go to Iraq: ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās was trying to dissuade him from going to Iraq. He was saying, "Do not do this (do not go to Iraq)." ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Muṭīʿ, who encountered Ḥusayn on the road to Kūfah, said: "May my father and mother be sacrificed for you! Let us enjoy the blessing of being with you. Stay with us. Do not go to Iraq! By God, if these people [Yazīd and the Umayyad clan] kill you, they will turn us [Muslims] into their slaves." ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar said to Ḥusayn: "Do not go forth. God gave the Messenger of God the choice between this world and the Hereafter, and he chose the Hereafter. You are a part of him; you will not attain this world." He embraced him, wept, and bid him farewell. ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar used to say: "Ḥusayn prevailed over us in the matter of going forth. By God, he had before him the lesson of his father and his brother. He had seen the trials and how the people abandoned them and left them alone."

When returning from ʿUmrah, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAyyāsh encountered Ḥusayn and ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr at a place called al-Abwāʾ. ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar said: "I remind both of

you of God... for God's sake, return to Madīnah. Join in what the people choose as the best course of action. Wait and observe the outcome. If the people agree, then do not oppose them. If there is division, then your objective will be achieved." Ibn Ayyāsh said to Ḥusayn: "O, son of Fāṭimah, where are you going?" Ḥusayn said: "To Iraq, to my supporters." Ibn Ayyāsh said: "I do not approve of this journey of yours. For you are going to those who killed your father and wounded your brother. Your brother became fed up with them and left them in anger. I remind you of God so that you are not deceived by them." Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī said: "Ḥusayn prevailed over us regarding going forth. I had said to him: Fear God with regard to your own life. Remain in your home. Do not oppose your imām."

Muḥammad ibn Saʿd's report regarding ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar is also transmitted by ʿIbn Ḥibbān, al-Ṭabarānī, and al-Bayhaqī among the ḥadīth scholars. The report of Ibn Ḥibbān is as follows: Al-Shaʿbī said: While ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar was on his estate, he heard that ʿAlī's son Ḥusayn had set out for Iraq. He reached him at a distance of two or three days' journey. He said to him: "Where are you going?" Ḥusayn showed him the letters in his possession and said: "These are the letters and pledges of allegiance from the people of Iraq." Ibn ʿUmar said: "Do not do it; do not go." But he did not listen. Ibn ʿUmar said: "Jibrāʾīl came to the Prophet ﷺ and told him to choose between this world and the Hereafter. He did not choose the world; he chose the Hereafter. You are a part of the Messenger of God ﷺ and the same is expected of you." Ḥusayn did not accept this. Ibn ʿUmar embraced him and said: "I entrust you to God. Peace be upon you."

In the version of al-Ṭabarānī, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar said to him: "Neither you nor any of your offspring will attain this. I entrust you to God as one who will be killed." Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, in his *Majmaʿ al-zawāʾid*, after citing this ḥadīth from al-Ṭabarānī, said: "The transmitters in this chain of narration are all trustworthy."[1357]

Abū Wāqid al-Laythī said: "I learned that Ḥusayn had departed. I reached him at a place called Malal (on the road to Makkah, nearer to

[1357] Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:424 #6968; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 11:163 #219; *al-Muʃam al-awsaṭ*, 1:189 #597; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubūwah*, 6:470; Ibn al-Aʿrābī Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, *al-Muʃam*, 5:357 #2346; Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Abī Bakr al-Haythamī, *Majmaʿ al-zawāʾid*, 9:192.

Madīnah). I adjured him by God not to go forth. I said, 'If you must go out, then do not do so with rebellion in mind. For by doing so, you will be bringing destruction upon yourself'." Ḥusayn replied, "I shall not turn back." Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh said: "I spoke with Ḥusayn and said, 'Fear God. Do not cause the people to strike one another. By God, what you are doing is not praiseworthy.' But he opposed me and did not listen." Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyab said: "Had Ḥusayn not set out, it would have been better for him." Abū Salamah, the son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf, said: "Ḥusayn ought not to have gone forth after becoming familiar with the people of Iraq and with the intention of going to them. But ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr encouraged him. For Ibn al-Zubayr used to say to Ḥusayn, 'Go to Iraq, for they will support you'."

Miswar ibn Makhramah wrote a letter to Ḥusayn, saying: "Beware! Do not be deceived by the letters of the people of Iraq. Beware! Do not leave the *ḥaram* [the sacred area of Makkah]. If they are truly in need of you, they will ride to you on their camels. Then you will go forth prepared and strong. May God grant you goodness." Ḥusayn replied: "I shall seek guidance from God (through *istikhārah* [consulting the Qur'ān for answers]) in this matter." Among the notables of the Anṣār, ʿAmrah, the daughter of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Saʿd ibn Zurārah, sent a letter to Ḥusayn advising him not to go to Iraq. She reminded him that what he was undertaking was a momentous affair, and she urged him to obey and to remain with the community (the general body of Muslims), and that he was heading toward death. She then recalled to him the following report: "'Ā'ishah told me," she said, "that she heard the Messenger of God ﷺ say: 'Ḥusayn will be killed in the land of Bābil'." When Ḥusayn read her letter, he said: "Then I must go forth [It has been decreed by God]."

Abū Bakr ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith came to Ḥusayn and said: "O, cousin, the bond of kinship compels me to advise you. I do not know what standing I have with you in giving advice." Ḥusayn replied: "O, Abū Bakr, you are not one to deceive or to be under delusion." Abū Bakr said: "You saw what the people of Iraq did to your father and your brother. They are slaves of and servants of the world [they love this worldly life, not the hereafter]. Yet you wish to go to them. Those who promised to support and aid you will be the very ones who will fight against you. I remind you of God regarding your soul." Ḥusayn replied: "May God reward you with goodness, O, cousin. You have stated your

opinion. What God has decreed shall come to pass." Abū Bakr said: "O, father of ʿAbd Allāh, to God we belong and to Him we shall return. Our reckoning is with God."

ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar wrote him a letter warning him about the people of Kūfah and adjured him by God not to go to them. Ḥusayn replied: "I saw the Messenger of God ﷺ in a dream. He gave me a command, and I shall fulfill it. Until the end of the matter, I shall not relate that dream to anyone." ʿAmr, the son of Saʿīd ibn ʿĀṣ, the governor of Makkah, wrote a letter to Ḥusayn containing the following: "May God inspire you with the right course and turn you away from that which would lead to your destruction. News has reached me that you intend to go to Iraq. I seek God's protection for you from causing division. If you are afraid, then come to me; for with me, there is safety, kindness, and kinship for you." Ḥusayn wrote to him in reply: "If your letter was sent out of goodwill and a desire to maintain kinship ties), then may God reward you in this world and the Hereafter. One who calls to God, performs righteous deeds, and says 'I am of the Muslims,' does not cause division. The best security is God's protection. Whoever is not fearful of Him in this world does not truly believe in Him. We ask Him for the kind of God-consciousness that brings about security in the Hereafter."

Yazīd, the son of Muʿāwiyah, wrote a letter to ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās, informing him that Ḥusayn had gone to Makkah. Certain men from the East had approached him, expressing a desire for him to become caliph. "You are well aware of such people and experienced in these matters. If he has done this, then he has severed the bonds of kinship. You are the elder and chief of the Ahl al-Bayt (the Prophet's Household). Prevent him from pursuing division." ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās wrote back: "I hope that Ḥusayn's departure is not for something you would disapprove of. I shall not refrain from giving him sincere advice, advice that will unite him with the community and extinguish discord and hostility." ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās went to Ḥusayn and conversed with him at length. He said: "I implore you by God, so that you not be destroyed tomorrow in a state of loss. Do not go to Iraq. If you must go, then at least remain here until the pilgrimage season is over. You can meet with the people, discern their intentions, and then act accordingly." This conversation took place on the tenth day of Dhū al-Ḥijjah in the year 60 AH.

Ḥusayn did not accept the advice to refrain from going to Iraq. He expressed that he would certainly go. Upon this, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās said: "I suspect you will be killed tomorrow among women and girls, just as ʿUthmān was killed among women and girls. By God, I fear that your death may come as retaliation for ʿUthmān's." He recited the qur'ānic verse recited in times of tribulation: "Indeed we belong to God, and to Him we shall return" (Q, al-Baqarah, 2:156). Ḥusayn replied, "O, father of al-ʿAbbās, you are an elderly man and a respected elder." ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās said, "Had you not brought humiliation upon yourself and me, I would have passed my hand over your head," meaning: "You are still like a child." He added, "If I knew that I could make you stay by butting our foreheads together, I would do so. But I know that it would not help." Ḥusayn said, "To be killed here or elsewhere is the same to me, but being killed outside Makkah is better than being killed in Makkah [because it is the scared sanctuarywhere no bloodshed is allowed]." ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās wept and said: "You have pleased ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr. I will find solace only in the fact that you will not be killed in Makkah." He then departed from Ḥusayn, angry. ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr was waiting at Ḥusayn's door. When Ibn ʿAbbās saw him, he said: "O, son of al-Zubayr, rejoice! You have gotten what you wanted. The father of ʿAbd Allāh (i.e., Ḥusayn) is leaving, and he is leaving the Ḥijāz to you."

Ḥusayn sent a message to Madīnah. Nineteen male members of the descendants of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, along with women, children, his brothers, daughters, and wives, joined him. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah also joined them and met Ḥusayn in Makkah. He advised him that it was not a sound decision to depart at that time. Ḥusayn did not accept this counsel. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah withheld his own children from going and sent none of them with Ḥusayn. Because of this, Ḥusayn felt resentment toward Muḥammad.

The people of Iraq sent letters to Ḥusayn, inviting him to come to them. Consequently, on Monday, the tenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah in the year 60 AH, Ḥusayn departed for Iraq, along with members of his household and approximately sixty elderly men from Kūfah. Marwān wrote a letter to ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, saying: " ʿAlī's son Ḥusayn has set out to come to you. He is the son of Fāṭimah, and Fāṭimah is the daughter of the Messenger of God ﷺ. There is no one whom God has preserved who is more beloved to us than Ḥusayn. Do not allow your passions to

overcome you such that you commit a deed which nothing can conceal and which the people will never forget. Peace." ʿAmr ibn Saʿd ibn al-ʿĀṣ also wrote a letter, stating: "Ḥusayn is coming toward you. In such matters, either you will be a free man, or you will become a slave, as even the slaves of slaves become."[1358]

The Report of Farazdaq: Labṭah, the son of Farazdaq, narrated from his father Farazdaq (Hammām ibn Ghālib). He said: "My father told me, saying: We set out on the road for Ḥajj. When we reached a place called Sifāḥ, located between Ḥunayn and the boundary markers of the *ḥaram* [sacred sanctuary area at Makkah], we encountered a caravan clad in thick cloaks and carrying shields made of leather. When we approached them, I saw that it was Ḥusayn, the son of ʿAlī. I said to him, 'O, Abū ʿAbd Allāh!' He replied, 'What is it, O, Farazdaq?' Farazdaq said, 'You are the most beloved of people. The decree (of God) is in heaven, and the swords are with the sons of Umayyah.' When we arrived in Makkah, while we were at Miná, I said: let us go to ʿAbd Allāh, the son of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, and ask him about Ḥusayn and his uprising.' So we went to his place of residence in Miná. We saw some children playing and asked them, 'Where is your father?' They said, 'In the tent, performing ablution.' Not long after, he came out of his tent. We asked him about Ḥusayn. ʿAbd Allāh said: 'No weapon can harm him, and no sword can cut him.' I replied, 'And are you the one who fought against him and his father, and yet you say this?' Then he insulted me, and I insulted him in return. On our return from the Ḥajj, we reached a watering place called Tiʿshār. We would ask everyone who passed us about Ḥusayn. A caravan passed by, and we called out to them, asking, 'What happened to Ḥusayn, the son of ʿAlī?' They said, 'He was killed.' Thereupon I said, 'May God do the same to ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr!'[1359]

[1358] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:436 #425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 3:199 #2790; Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-Fākihī, *Akhbār Makkah*, 2:265 #1487; al-Ḥusayn ibn Ismāʿīl al-Mahāmilī, *al-Amālī*, 226 #215; Muḥammad ibn Mukarram ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar tārīkh Dimashq*, 2:440; Yaʿqūb ibn Sufyān al-Fasawī, *al-Maʿrifah wa-al-tārīkh*, 2:673; Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 5:386; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 3:294.

[1359] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:436 #425, 426, 427, 1:437 #428, 429, 430, 1:438 #431, 432, 433, 1:441-434, 1:452-435, 2:387, 8:480; Ibn ʿAsākir ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 5:65; Yaʿqūb ibn Sufyān, *al-Maʿrifah wa-al-tārīkh*, 2:673;

In the narration from Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh*: In the sixtieth year of the hijrah, when Muʿāwiyah was on his deathbed, Yazīd was not present with him. He summoned Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Qays al-Fihrī, who was responsible for security, and Muslim ibn ʿUqbah al-Murrī, and made a testament to them to deliver to Yazīd: "Pay attention to the people of the Ḥijāz, they are your roots. Honor those of them who come to you, and promise to fulfill the requests of those who cannot come. As for the people of Iraq, if they demand that you dismiss a governor every single day, then grant their request. Dismissing one official is better than facing a hundred thousand swords drawn against you. As for the people of Syria, they are your bag that guards your secrets and your inner lining. When an enemy rises against you, confront him with their support. After defeating your enemy, return the people of Syria to their homeland. If they settle in another land, they will adopt morals and dispositions other than their own. As for the men of Quraysh, I fear three: Ḥusayn, the son of ʿAlī; ʿAbd Allāh, the son of ʿUmar; and ʿAbd Allāh, the son of al-Zubayr. The son of ʿUmar has been preoccupied by religion, and he will not come to you. As for Ḥusayn, he is a light-minded man. I hope that those who killed his father and abandoned his brother will suffice to deal with him. He has close kinship ties, a great claim, and a relation to Muḥammad ﷺ. I do not think the people of Iraq will leave him so long as he does not show open opposition. If you are able to overpower him, then pardon him, for if I were in your place, I would pardon him. As for the son of al-Zubayr, he is a schemer and a traitor. If he rises up against you, then deal with him as is necessary. If he seeks reconciliation, then make peace with him. As much as you are able, prevent the shedding of your people's blood." [1360]

Ḥusayn, ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, and the people of Ḥarrah had three reasons for their rebellion, which can be understood as follows:

1. The application of the verse "Their affair is based upon mutual consultation" [1361] which implies that the caliphate should be chosen through *shūrá* (consultation).

Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 5:343, 386; Muḥammad ibn Mukarram ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar tārīkh Dimashq*, 2:440; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 3:296, 4:507.

[1360] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 3:260.

[1361] Q. al-Shūrá, 42:38.

2. The necessity of abolishing a rule that was forcibly taken and characterized by corruption and oppression.
3. The desire to adhere to the *sunnah* (tradition) and follow the path of the Rightly Guided Caliphs regarding the caliphate. [1362]

The reasons behind Ḥusayn's journey to Kūfah are as follows: The first reason: God's decree. Whatever God has ordained will come to pass, and no one can obstruct His will. The second reason: The transformation of the ruling system from a *shūrá*-based election to a monarchy. One of the reasons: Muʿāwiyah's failure to adhere to the terms of the peace treaty made with Ḥasan. One of the clauses stipulated that after Muʿāwiyah, the caliph would be chosen by *shūrá*. Ḥusayn saw Muʿāwiyah's attempt to make the caliphate hereditary by passing it to his son Yazīd as a clear violation of the Islamic system of governance. However, he did not oppose Muʿāwiyah at that time because he had pledged allegiance to him as caliph and remained true to his word.[1363] After Muʿāwiyah's death, the situation changed. Ḥusayn no longer had any pledge of allegiance to obey. The clear evidence for this is the effort of the governor of Madīnah, Walīd ibn ʿUtbah, to extract the oath of allegiance from Ḥusayn and ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr. Without giving their pledges, both of them went to Makkah.[1364]

Ḥusayn's situation and his *fatwá*, which contradicted the Umayyad rule, can be divided into two stages: First Stage: Refusing to pledge allegiance to Yazīd and heading to Makkah. In this phase, according to his legal opinion, Ḥusayn established his political stance against the Umayyads' rule. He believed that pledging allegiance to Yazīd was not permissible for two main reasons. Personally, Yazīd was unfit to be caliph, as he lacked the necessary justice [he was a drunkard who never prayed nor fasted, nor behaved in any of the ways a Muslim was expected to behave, especially the leader of all Muslims]. Moreover, Ḥusayn was more qualified than Yazīd to assume the caliphate. His knowledge, piety, and qualifications exceeded those of Yazīd, and he was more accepted by the people. Politically, Ḥusayn saw the absence of the *shūrá* condition as a deviation from the Islamic method of governance

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[1362] ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Ṣallābī, *al-Dawlah al-Umawīyah, ʿawāmil al-izdihār wa-tadāʿīyāt al-inhiyār*, 2:341.

[1363] Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, *al-Ṣawāʿiq al-muḥriqah*, 2:299.

[1364] Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyá al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 3:152.

and the Umayyad regime as a monarchy that went against the principles of the caliphate.

Additionally, Ḥusayn was aware of the prophetic ḥadīth: "Whoever gives an allegiance and then retracts it, he will have no argument before God on the Day of Judgment." Likewise, he was mindful of the ḥadīth: "Whoever dies without a pledge of allegiance around his neck dies in a state of ignorance."[1365] Despite knowing these ḥadīths, Ḥusayn did not view them as an obligation to pledge allegiance to Yazīd. He believed the Umayyad regime was illegitimate, which is why the Umayyads were so eager for him to pledge allegiance. Yazīd wrote to the governor of Madīnah to force Ḥusayn, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar, and ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr to pledge allegiance. He commanded the governor to use coercion to make them pledge allegiance.[1366] Refusing to pledge allegiance allowed Ḥusayn the political freedom to resist the Umayyad rule.

Second Stage: The stage of active resistance against the Umayyad regime, during which Ḥusayn took on the responsibility of challenging the Umayyads instead of their rule. This stage can be understood as a form of rebellion against the unjust ruler. Before leaving for Iraq, Ḥusayn stayed in Makkah for several months. He arrived in Makkah in the month of Shaʿbān in the year 60 AH. On the 8th of Dhul-Ḥijjah of the same year, he left Makkah and began his journey toward Iraq.[1367] During this time, he was in correspondence with the people of Iraq, and delegations from there were continually reaching him. He saw that resistance to oppression and the removal of evil had become obligatory. His supporters in Iraq maintained continuous contact with him.[1368]

Ḥusayn made his political decision based on the *fatwá* that he accepted. He saw the Umayyads as deviating from the path of the Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ and the Rightly Guided Caliphs, as they were not adhering to the boundaries set by God. His *fatwá* was built upon a logical and legal sequence. The Umayyads' tyranny, Yazīd's unfitness for leadership, and the obligation to resist tyranny led him to refrain from pledging allegiance. Commanding what is right and forbidding

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[1365] Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 6:22 #4899.

[1366] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 6:259.

[1367] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 6:304; Ibn Kathīr Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar, *al-Bidāyah wa-al-nihāyah*, 11:494.

[1368] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 6:273, 274.

what is wrong is an obligation for the scholars of the ummah. The greatest evil was the Umayyad rule and its oppression. Since Ḥusayn had no pledge of allegiance around his neck, and he was one of the scholars and leaders of the ummah, he had more right than anyone else to oppose this evil. Therefore, Ḥusayn's departure was not a *khurūj* (rebellion) against the legitimate imām, but rather a resistance against falsehood and the correction of the situation.

His stance was a return to the correct Islamic form of governance [consultation by *shūrá*, in accordance with Qur'ānic commandments], rejecting the illegitimate Umayyad rule. His *fatwás*, in resisting the Umayyads, served as evidence of his commitment to aligning political action with Islamic principles. To avoid making Makkah a battlefield and to prevent the unlawful spilling of blood there, Ḥusayn made the following statement to ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās: "It is better for me not to be killed in Makkah, than to make killing in this place lawful." [1369]

The Sending of Muslim ibn ʿAqīl to Kūfah by Ḥusayn: Ḥusayn had sent Muslim ibn ʿAqīl to Kūfah. He instructed him to stay with Hāni' ibn ʿUrwah al-Murādī and to observe the public's response and report back to him. Muslim ibn ʿAqīl arrived in Kūfah secretly. The supporters of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib came to him, and he took the oath of allegiance from them. He then wrote to Ḥusayn: "I have arrived in Kūfah. Eighteen thousand people have pledged allegiance to me. There is no obstacle to your coming, hasten your arrival." When Muslim's letter reached Ḥusayn, he set out. When he arrived at a place called Zabālah, emissaries from Kūfah arrived carrying a register containing the names of one hundred thousand oath-givers.

Under Muʿāwiyah's rule, Nuʿmān ibn Bashīr al-Anṣārī had been appointed as governor of Kūfah. At the time of Muʿāwiyah's death, he was still in office. Yazīd feared that Nuʿmān would not oppose Ḥusayn. He therefore wrote to the governor of Baṣrah, ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, appointing him also as governor of Kūfah and informing him that Ḥusayn was heading there. In his letter, Yazīd wrote: "If you have wings, fly with them and reach Kūfah before he [Ḥusayn] does." ʿUbayd Allāh swiftly arrived in Kūfah. He entered the marketplace with his head wrapped in a way that made him unrecognizable. The people of the marketplace, anticipating Ḥusayn's arrival, assumed he was Ḥusayn.

[1369] ʿAlī Muḥammad Muḥammad al-Ṣallābī, *Ḥaqīqah wa-wahm bayna istishhād al-Ḥusayn*, 1:7 #109.

They began running towards him. They said to him, "O, son of the Messenger of God! Praise be to God who has shown you to us!" and began kissing his hands and feet. ʿUbayd Allāh remarked, "How corrupt these people are!" He entered the mosque, prayed two *rukʿah*s, then ascended the pulpit and uncovered his face. When the people saw him, they looked at one another and dispersed.

That night, ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād consummated his marriage with Umm Nāfiʿ, granddaughter of ʿUqbah ibn Abī Muʿayṭ. That same night, Ḥusayn's envoy to Muslim ibn ʿAqīl, who was also his foster-brother, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Buqṭar, arrived in Kūfah. ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād had him executed. According to al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Kathīr, the envoy sent by Ḥusayn was Qays ibn Mus-hir al-Ṣaydāwī.[1370]

Sharīk ibn al-Aʿwar al-Ḥārithī had come with ʿUbayd Allāh from Baṣrah. He was a supporter of ʿAlī. Sharīk stayed as a guest with Hāniʾ ibn ʿUrwah. Sharīk fell ill. ʿUbayd Allāh used to visit him at Hāni"s house. At that time, Muslim ibn ʿAqīl was also a guest in that same house, although ʿUbayd Allāh was unaware of this. When ʿUbayd Allāh was due to visit again, thirty men were prepared to assassinate him. ʿUbayd Allāh came to visit Sharīk and inquired about his condition. During this, Sharīk recited some verses about Salmá. ʿUbayd Allāh asked, "What does he mean by this?" They said, "He is delirious from illness." Sounds of rustling began to be heard in the house, which alarmed ʿUbayd Allāh. He quickly stood up and left the house.

He summoned the slave of Hāniʾ ibn ʿUrwah, who was employed in the police service, and questioned him about the situation. The slave reported everything to ʿUbayd Allāh. ʿUbayd Allāh went to the government palace and summoned Hāniʾ ibn ʿUrwah, who was over ninety years old. He asked, "Why have you taken my enemy into your home and protected him?" Hāniʾ replied, "O, son of my brother, he came with truth. He is more entitled to it than you and your household." ʿUbayd Allāh held a staff whose tip was iron, like the head of a spear. With it, he struck Hāniʾ on the head. The iron tip of the staff pierced the wall, and the elderly man's brain was scattered, and thus he was killed.

News of this event reached Muslim ibn ʿAqīl. He left with four hundred men from among the supporters of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. By the time they reached the palace, only sixty remained with him. The sun

[1370] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 5:394; Ibn Kathīr Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar, *al-Bidāyah wa-al-nihāyah*, 8:168.

had set. They fought [with Ibn Ziyād's palace guards] in the square. Then they entered the mosque. The number of ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād's men increased. When night fell, Muslim fled. He took refuge in the house of a woman from the Kindah tribe named Ṭawʿah. When Muḥammad, the son of al-Ashʿath ibn Qays, learned of this, he informed ʿUbayd Allāh of Muslim's whereabouts. ʿUbayd Allāh had Muslim brought to him. He rebuked him and ordered that he be executed.

Muslim said, "Let me make out my will to someone [before you kill me]." ʿUbayd Allāh replied, "Very well." Muslim looked at ʿUmar, the son of Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, and said, "There is kinship between us, and I am in need of you." ʿUbayd Allāh said, "See to the need of your cousin." Muslim stood and said to him: "There is no one here from the Quraysh tribe except you. Ḥusayn, the son of ʿAlī, is on his way. [1] Send someone to him and advise him not to come. These people have resorted to deceit. They have betrayed and lied to him. If Ḥusayn is killed, the descendants of Hāshim will never recover from the blow. [2] Since arriving in Kūfah, I have incurred debts. Pay them off. [3] When I am killed, ask for my body from the son of Ziyād and bury me."

The son of Ziyād, ʿUbayd Allāh, said to ʿUmar, "What did Muslim say to you?" ʿUmar relayed Muslim's words to ʿUbayd Allāh. ʿUbayd Allāh said to ʿUmar, "As for the wealth, it is yours; we will not forbid you. As for Ḥusayn, if he leaves us alone, we will not send him back. But if we kill him, what happens to his body does not concern us." ʿUmar ibn Saʿd repaid Muslim's debts, received his [decapitated] corpse, shrouded and buried him. He found someone, provided him with provisions, mounted him on a camel, and sent him to Ḥusayn to deliver Muslim's message. That man reached Ḥusayn after four days and informed him of what had occurred.

ʿUbayd Allāh sent the severed heads of Muslim ibn ʿAqīl and Hāniʾ ibn ʿUrwah to Yazīd, the son of Muʿāwiyah. When Ḥusayn learned that Muslim and Hāniʾ had been killed, his son ʿAlī al-Akbar said to him, "Father, turn back from here. These people do not fulfill their promises; they are disloyal." The sons of ʿAqīl, who were in the caravan, said to Ḥusayn, "This is not a time to turn back," and incited him to proceed to Kūfah. In response, Ḥusayn said to those with him, "You see what lies ahead for us. These people will abandon us. Whoever among you wishes to turn back, let him do so." Those who had joined him on the road

turned back. [In those days, travel was dangerous because there were bandits and highway-robbers, so people going from one town to another often joined large caravans for the safety in numbers. There were many who joined Ḥusayn's caravan only because they had other unrelated reasons to go to Iraq and took advantage of what they thought was a safe way to journey there. Ḥusayn knew this, and did no want any innocent people involved, so he encouraged them to leave.] He was left with only a few of those who had departed Makkah with him and those who joined him on the journey. He had only thirty horsemen remaining. [1371]

The Army under the Command of ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād and Ḥusayn: ʿUbayd Allāh assembled the warriors, gave them money, and set conditions. He dispatched Ḥusayn ibn Tamīm al-Ṭuḥawī (or al-Ṭaḥwī) to Qādisīyah, instructing him: "Remain there. Kill anyone who displeases you or about whom you are suspicious." Before receiving news of Muslim's death, Ḥusayn had sent Qays ibn Mus-hir al-Asadī to him as an envoy. Ḥusayn (ibn Tamīm) captured this envoy and sent him to ʿUbayd Allāh. ʿUbayd Allāh said to Qays ibn Mus-hir: "God has killed Muslim. Get up and curse the liar [Ḥusayn] and son of a liar [ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib] before the people." Qays ascended the pulpit and said: "O, people, I left Ḥusayn the son of ʿAlī at a place called Ḥājir. [1372] I am the envoy he sent to you. He seeks your support and assistance." At the order of ʿUbayd Allāh, Qays was thrown from the roof of the palace and killed.

Ḥusayn ibn Tamīm dispatched Ḥurr ibn Yazīd al-Yarbūʿī [al-Riyāḥī] with a thousand soldiers to intercept Ḥusayn in the region of the Banū Riyāḥ. He instructed him: "Follow him until he enters Kūfah. Do not let him turn back and keep pressuring him." Ḥurr ibn Yazīd complied. Ḥusayn took the route of ʿUdhayb near Qādisīyah and reached a location called al-Jawf near Mā'atayn in the Kūfah region. He stopped at the castle of Abū Muqātil. Suddenly he shuddered, then came to himself and recited the verse, "*Innā li-llāh wa-innā ilayhi rājiʿūn* (Indeed, we belong to God, and indeed to Him we return)" [Q, al-Baqarah, 2:156]. Then he said: "I just saw in a dream that a horseman followed us and said: 'This group goes onward, and death follows them.' I understood it to be a foretelling of our death." He continued on the road until reaching the place called Karbalā'. There, he felt distress and

[1371] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:458-441.

[1372] Ḥājir: The name of the region inhabited by the Banū Tamīm tribe.

anguish and asked, "What is this place called?" They said: "It is Karbalā'." He said, "It is a day of sorrow and tribulation." [*karb* means sorrow and *balā'* means tribulation]

ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād then sent ʿUmar, the son of Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, with four thousand troops against Ḥusayn. Previously, he had appointed ʿUmar as governor of Rayy and Hamadān. When he was now ordered to go against Ḥusayn, ʿUmar was displeased and asked to be excused. ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād said to him: "By God, if you do not go to Ḥusayn, I will dismiss you from your post, tear down your house, and strike off your head." Then ʿUmar replied, "In that case, I will go." The Banū Zuhrah, the clan of Quraysh to which ʿUmar belonged, came to him and said: "For the sake of God, do not go against Ḥusayn. A lasting enmity will be established between us and the Banū Hāshim." ʿUmar once again asked to be excused, but ʿUbayd Allāh refused. In the end, ʿUmar went to confront Ḥusayn.

Ḥusayn had with him fifty men. Twenty soldiers joined him, and nineteen of his family members were with him. When Ḥusayn saw that ʿUmar ibn Saʿd was advancing toward him with his troops, he called out to them: "O, you people, may God have mercy on you, what is the matter between us and you? O, People of Kūfah, what is this condition?" The Kūfans replied: "We feared that what we had been granted would be taken from us." Ḥusayn said: "What God will give you is better for you. Let us go. Let us return to where we came from." The Kūfans said: "That is not possible." Ḥusayn then said: "Grant me a path to Rayy [a city in the East], that I may go and wage *jihād* against the Daylamites." They replied: "That is not possible either." Ḥusayn then said: "Let me go to Yazīd, the son of Muʿāwiyah. I will place my hand in his hand [i.e., pledge allegiance to him]." They replied: "No, you must place your hand in the hand of ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād [i.e., surrender to him]." Ḥusayn said: "No, never." They said: "We accept nothing else."

When this was reported to ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, he considered letting Ḥusayn go and withdrawing from the matter. He said: "He has not interfered with me, so I will let him go wherever he wishes." Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan al-Ḍibābī said to ʿUbayd Allāh: "By God, if you do this, and he escapes from your grasp, you will never be forgiven." ʿUbayd Allāh's desire was to rule over all of Iraq. Because of this, he wrote to ʿUmar ibn Saʿd: "Now our ropes have bound him, but he is

hoping for escape. The time for escape has passed. Act immediately." ʿUbayd Allāh said to Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan: "Go to ʿUmar ibn Saʿd. If he carries out my command, then join in fighting Ḥusayn. If he does not carry out what I commanded, strike off his head, and you take command of the army."

Meanwhile, men were joining Ḥusayn from Kūfah, one by one, two by two, three by three. When ʿUbayd Allāh heard of this, he left Kūfah and set up camp at a place called Nukhaylah. He appointed ʿAmr ibn Ḥurayth in charge of Kūfah. He ordered the people to come to Nukhaylah and to seize the bridge. He did not permit anyone to cross the bridge. He gave Ḥusayn ibn Tamīm al-Ṭuhawī a force of two thousand men and sent him to assist ʿUmar ibn Saʿd. Shimr arrived at the location of ʿUmar ibn Saʿd on Thursday afternoon, on the ninth of Muḥarram in the year sixty-one of the hijrah. The order was given for the army to prepare. Ḥusayn was sitting, wrapped in his cloak, at his tent. He looked at them and said to his brother al-ʿAbbās, the son of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib: "Go and meet them and ask them, 'What do you want'?" Al-ʿAbbās asked: "What do you want?" The Kūfans said: "An order has come to us from the governor. The command he has given is this: You will accept his decision, or we will kill you. This is what we are conveying." al-ʿAbbās and Ḥusayn said: "Go back this evening. We will consider what you have conveyed during the night." ʿUmar left.

Ḥusayn, on the night before Friday, the tenth of Muḥarram, gathered those with him. He praised God, extolled Him, mentioned the Prophet ﷺ. He spoke of the Prophethood that God had honored Muḥammad with and the blessing He had given to his community. He then said: "Tomorrow, these people will fight you. I give all of you permission, go, I forgo any obligation upon you. The night has covered you. Let each of you take one of my household who is able, and leave in this darkness and scatter. He recited the verse, "Perhaps God will bring a victory or a command from Him, and then they will be regretful over what they concealed." [1373] Then Ḥusayn said, "These people want me. Once they get me, they will not trouble themselves with going after you."

His *ahl al-bayt* (household and close kin) said, "May God not leave us behind after you. We swear by God, we will not leave you. Whatever

[1373] Q. al-Mā'idah, 5:52.

happens to you, let it happen to us as well." All those with him said this. Ḥusayn said, "May God reward you with Paradise for your intention."

Mūsá ibn ʿUmayr narrated from his father, who said: Ḥusayn appointed someone to announce to the people, "Let no one who is in debt be with us." A man said, "My wife has taken on my debt." Ḥusayn said, "How can a woman take on a man's debt?" One of the Anṣār came to Ḥusayn and said, "I am in debt." Ḥusayn said, "Those who are in debt should not fight with me." Muḥammad ibn Bashīr al-Ḥaḍramī was told by someone from al-Hamdān, "Your son has been taken captive on the frontier of Rayy." Muḥammad ibn Bashīr said, "I would not wish for him to be taken captive or to remain alive after that. I seek the reward from God for myself and for him." When Ḥusayn heard what he said, he told him, "May God have mercy on you. I release you from the pledge of allegiance you made to me. Go, and strive to free your son from captivity." Muḥammad ibn Bashīr said, "If I were to part from you, let wild beasts devour me." Ḥusayn gave him five garments worth one thousand dīnars and said, "Give these clothes and cloaks to your son, and let him go and rescue his brother with them." [1374]

[1374] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:467, 468 #442, 443; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 3:123 #2803.

Ḥusayn's confrontation with the approaching soldiers: On the morning of the day he was to be killed, Ḥusayn said, "O, God, You are my refuge in every affliction and my hope in every hardship. In everything that befalls me, I rely only upon You. You are the source of every blessing and every favor."

Ḥusayn said to ʿUmar and his companions: "Do not be hasty until I have made my decision. By God, had it not been for letters like yours, I would not have come to you. The letters that came to me said: 'The sunnah has been abolished, hypocrisy has become widespread, and the rulings prescribed by Islam have been entirely neglected. Come here, perhaps God, exalted is He, will reform the ummah of Muḥammad through you.' Because of this, I came to you. If you no longer desire this, I will return. Ask yourselves: is it proper for you to kill me? Is my blood lawful to you? Am I not the son of your Prophet's daughter, the son of the first believer among his uncles? Are Ḥamzah, al-ʿAbbās, and Jaʿfar not my uncles? Has the statement of the Messenger of God ﷺ not reached you concerning me and my brother: 'These two are the lords of the youth of Paradise'? If you affirm this, then it is so. If you deny it, ask Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh, Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, Anas ibn Mālik, and Zayd ibn Arqam."[1375]

Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan: "If I have understood what you said, I would be one of those who worship God with a single letter," he said [In other words, 'I don't care'].[1376] Ḥurr ibn Yazīd, the son of Riyāḥ, from the people of Yerbūʿ, approached ʿUmar ibn Saʿd and said: "Are you *really* going to fight this man (Ḥusayn)?" ʿUmar: "Yes," he replied. Ḥurr: "Will you not accept any of the conditions he proposed?" ʿUmar: "If the authority to make decisions were in my hands, I would accept them," he said.

Ḥurr: "*Subḥān Allāh* [Glory to God!], what a great matter this is! The son of the daughter of the Messenger of God ﷺ presents you with his demands, and you reject them." Ḥurr defected from the army and

[1375] These are the Companions who transmitted this ḥadīth.

[1376] This statement is an Arabic idiom meaning "He did not understand what al-Ḥusayn was saying;" Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī mentioned up to this point in *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 3:301, 302.

joined Ḥusayn instead. [He begged Ḥusayn's forgiveness and asked permission to be the first to fight.] He fought until he was killed.[1377]

The martyrdom of Ḥusayn: Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr gives us this information: Ḥusayn was martyred on the 10th of Muḥarram in the 61st year of the hijrah, near a place called al-Taff, close to Kūfah, in Karbalā'. God Almighty had decreed that ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād would also be killed on the 10th of Muḥarram in the 67th year of the hijrah. Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ashtar killed him. He sent his head to Mukhtār al-Thaqafī, who in turn sent it to ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr. He then sent the head to Ḥusayn's son, ʿAlī. [1378]

Narration from al-Ṭabarānī: Sulaymān ibn Muslim narrated from his father. He said: "When Ḥusayn arrived at Karbalā', the first to strike his tent was ʿUmar ibn Saʿd. [After the battle, when people heard what he had done to Ḥusayn, the people were so upset that] I saw the necks of ʿUmar ibn Saʿd and his two sons being struck off, their heads hung on a pole, and then burned." [1379]

Ḥusayn said to ʿUmar: "O, ʿUmar, by God, a day will come when you will see yourself in a bad state." Then, Ḥusayn raised his hands to the sky and invoked a curse, saying: "O, God, the people of Iraq deceived and misled me. They did to me what they did to Ḥasan, the son of ʿAlī. O, God, scatter and diminish them in every matter." ʿUmar ibn Saʿd attacked Ḥusayn. The slave of ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, named Sālim, was the first to engage in battle. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Tamīm al-Kalbī confronted him and killed him.

Ḥusayn was sitting. Arrows were falling to his right and left. His three-year-old son was standing in front of him. ʿUqbah ibn Bishr al-Asadī shot an arrow and killed the child. ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUqbah al-Ghanawī shot an arrow at Ḥusayn's son, Abū Bakr, and killed him. Ḥusayn put on his armor. His companions, fighting by his side, circled around him and fought the attackers until they were all killed. Ḥusayn wore a black turban on his head. As a brave warrior, he fought bravely against his enemies.

[1377] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:468 #442.

[1378] Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb*, 1:118; Muḥibb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭabarī, *Dhakhāʾir al-ʿuqbá*, 146.

[1379] Muḥammad Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-ṣaghīr*, 17178; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, 2:848 #608.

One man from the people of Syria called out to Ḥusayn's son, ʿAlī Akbar: "You have kinship with the Commander of the Believers (Yazīd). We offer you safety, go wherever you wish." This was because ʿAlī Akbar's mother, Amīnah, was the daughter of Murrah ibn ʿUrwah of the Thaqīf tribe, whose mother was the daughter of Abū Sufyān. Hence, Muʿāwīyah was his maternal uncle. ʿAlī Akbar responded: "I swear by God, the kinship with the Messenger of God ﷺ takes precedence over the kinship with Abū Sufyān. I am ʿAlī, the son of Ḥusayn," and he recited some verses and then charged at the man. Murrah ibn Munkidh ibn Nuʿmān from the ʿAbd al-Qays tribe attacked ʿAlī Akbar and wounded him with a spear. His companions carried him to a place near Ḥusayn. Ḥusayn said: "O, my son, they have killed you," and held him until he breathed his last, saying: "After you, may this world perish." Ḥusayn then invoked a curse against them: "O, God, they called us to support and help, but instead, they abandoned us and killed us. O, God, withhold the rain from them. Prohibit the blessings of the earth from them. Even if You give them blessings for a time, make them poor and scatter them. May no ruler be pleased with them for eternity."

Ḥusayn's son, named ʿAbd Allāh, ran to his father and sat in his lap. A man shot an arrow, striking the child under his chin and killing him. Ḥusayn then invoked a curse, saying: "O, God, no One but You can help us. Make this the best outcome for us. Take vengeance on the oppressive people." Very young, the son of Ḥasan, Qāsim, came out. The lace on his left shoe broke. At that moment, ʿAmr ibn Saʿīd al-Azdī attacked him. Qāsim cried out, "O, uncle!" and fell to the ground. Ḥusayn charged at ʿAmr and struck at him with a sword. He tried to defend himself with his hand, but his hand was severed at the wrist and fell to the ground. The cavalry from Kūfah came to carry him away. Ḥusayn attacked them, but they surrounded and trampled the boy, killing him. Ḥusayn stood next to Qāsim and said: "It was hard for your uncle to not answer you, or even if he did, not be able to help you. A day where there are many losses and few helpers." He then told those with him, "Carry him," and they carried him and placed him near his son.

Ḥusayn was extremely thirsty and asked for water. Their water supply had run out. Someone brought him water and offered it to him. At that moment, Ḥusayn ibn Tamīm shot an arrow at Ḥusayn, striking his mouth. As he wiped the blood with his hand, he thanked God. He turned towards the Euphrates River. A man from the tribe of Abān ibn

Dārim said: "Prevent Ḥusayn from going to the water," and they attacked him, preventing him from reaching the river. Ḥusayn invoked a curse on the man, saying: "O, God, make him thirsty." The man then shot an arrow at Ḥusayn, which struck his chin. Ḥusayn pulled the arrow out, and his palm filled with blood. He said: "O, God, I complain to You about what they have done." Not long after, the man became thirsty. They tried to give him water in a large jug. He drank the water but then cried out: "I'm dying from thirst," and he died while drinking. Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan blocked Ḥusayn from reaching his belongings. Ḥusayn said: "All of my belongings are permissible for you, but do not give them to the ignorant, vile, and lowly people. If you have no religion, at least be free in this world and make your own choice [instead of following the orders of unjust rulers]."

Once all of Ḥusayn's companions and family were killed, everyone who had attacked him throughout the day was forced to retreat. Many people surrounded him. He fought them heroically, charging at them, and they scattered like goats fleeing from a lion. This continued for some time. They wanted to attack but hesitated. Shimr shouted at them: "What are you waiting for? As if your mothers had not given birth to you?" At that moment, they advanced on him. The first to reach him was Zurʿah ibn Sharīk al-Tamīmī, who struck Ḥusayn on his left shoulder. He then struck him on his neck and killed him. Sinān ibn Anas al-Nakhaʿī opposed him and drove his spear into Ḥusayn's throat. After pulling the spear out, he continued to strike at his side and ribs. After these blows, Ḥusayn was martyred and fell to the ground. To behead him, they dismounted their horses. Ḥawlī ibn Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī also dismounted, beheaded him, and took his head to ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād. ʿUbayd Allāh did not reward Sinān. Ḥusayn's body had thirty-three wounds. His clothes had over one hundred and ten holes and tears from arrows, swords, and spears. He was martyred at the age of fifty-six years and five months, on the tenth of Muḥarram, in the year 61 AH, on a Friday.[1380] According to Ibn Ḥibbān, the head of Ḥusayn was severed

[1380] See also: Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 3:117; Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 5:390, 454; Ibn al-Athīr ʿAlī ibn Abī al-Karam al-Jazarī, *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, 4:79; Ibn Kathīr Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar, *al-Bidāyah wa-al-nihāyah*, 8:189.

by Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan.[1381] Seventy-two people were martyred along with Ḥusayn. On the side of the army of ʿUmar ibn Saʿd, eighty-eight people were killed.

[1381] Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *al-Thiqāt*, 2:311; the following sources also state that the head was severed by Shimr: Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Inbāʾ fī tārīkh al-khulafāʾ*, 54; Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAlī, *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, 1:191; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 5:125.

THOSE WHO FOUGHT AGAINST ḤUSAYN AND THOSE WHO FOUGHT ALONGSIDE HIM

Ḥurr ibn Yazīd al-Riyāḥī: He was from the sons of Tamīm, and a prominent member of his tribe. He was a commander. He was the leader of the thousand-strong military detachment sent to prevent Ḥusayn from entering Kūfah. This person made efforts to force Ḥusayn to go to the battlefield and caused him to suffer from thirst. He killed Ḥusayn's brother, al-ʿAbbās [this is not possible since, as reported earlier, he (Ḥurr) was the first to fight and die]. However, when the Kūfah army realized their intention to kill Ḥusayn, he repented, left the Kūfah army, and joined Ḥusayn's side. He fought alongside Ḥusayn until he was martyred. [1382]

Shīmr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan: Shīmr's father, Dhī al-Jawshan, was named Shuraḥbīl. He was famous for his bravery. He was the greatest criminal among the Kūfah soldiers. He was from the Kilāb/Ḥawāzin tribe and one of its leaders. He fought in the Battle of Ṣiffīn and was the commander of the infantry. He is the one who killed Ḥusayn and severed his blessed head from his body. ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād sent Ḥusayn's blessed head to Yazīd in Damascus with this man. He was killed by the supporters of al-Mukhtār al-Thaqafī in 66 AH (686 CE). His corpse was fed to the dogs. [1383]

Ḥarmalah ibn Kāhil al-Asadī: He was known in Kūfah for his skill in archery. He is the one who shot an arrow that killed ʿAbd Allāh, Ḥusayn's infant son, as he sat in his father's lap. [1384]

[1382] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, (The supplementary volume), fifth *ṭabaqah*, 1:463, 469; Khayr al-Dīn Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, 2:172.

[1383] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, (The supplementary volume), fifth *ṭabaqah*, 1:465, 473; Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 5:450, 468; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, 2:280 #3742; Khayr al-Dīn Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, 2:243.

[1384] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, (The supplementary volume), fifth *ṭabaqah*, 1:476; Yūsuf Ibn Qizāghlu Sibt ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān fī tārīkh al-aʿyān*, 8:145; ʿAlī Ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Māqūlá, *al-Ikmāl fī rafʿ al-irtiyāb*, 2:571; Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmāʾ al-rijāl*, 6:438; Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh, *Tawḍīḥ al-mushtabih*, 3:386.

Ḥuwayzah al-Kūfī: He was among those who swore an oath to prevent Ḥusayn from drinking water, saying, "By God, you will not drink." He was a memorizer of the Qurʾān (*ḥāfiẓ*). He had been with Ḥasan in the army preparing to fight against Muʿāwiyah. In Karbalā, he mounted his horse, and one of the Kūfans called out to Ḥusayn, insulting him: "O, Ḥusayn, I give you the glad tidings that you will go to the fire!" Ḥusayn asked, "Who are you?" He replied, "I am Ḥuwayzah." Ḥusayn then cursed him: "O, God, tear him apart in the fire." At that moment, Ḥuwayzah attempted to cross a small stream. He slipped from his horse and was split in two. [1385]

Isḥāq ibn Ḥaywah al-Ḥaḍramī: He was one of the prominent figures of the supporters of ʿAlī. He had been with Ḥasan in the army preparing to fight Muʿāwiyah. He was one of the first to pledge allegiance to the messenger of Muslim, son of ʿAqīl, who was sent to Kūfah. When ʿUmar ibn Saʿd asked, "Who will step forward to kill Ḥusayn and trample his body with their horse in Karbalā?" ten men stepped forward, and one of them was Isḥāq ibn Ḥaywah. This man trampled Ḥusayn's blessed body with his horse and stripped his clothes off him. When asked why he removed the clothes, he replied, "For blessing." He said, "This is the garment of the son of the daughter of the Messenger of God." When asked why he trampled the blessed body with his horse, he replied, "The feeling of tribalism from the ignorance of victory returned to me." [1386]

Ḥakīm ibn al-Tufayl: He was one of ʿAlī's supporters and fought alongside him. In Karbalā, this man tried to remove the ring from Ḥusayn's finger. When he was unable to remove it, he cut off the finger and took the ring. He also killed Ḥusayn's brother, al-ʿAbbās. [1387]

Ḥawlī ibn Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī: He was one of the prominent figures in Kūfah. His house was adjacent to Ḥusayn's. This man, using a spear, knocked Ḥusayn off his horse. When Shīmr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan or Sinān

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[1385] ʿAlī ibn ʿUmar al-Dāraquṭnī, *al-Muʾtalif wa-al-mukhtalif*, 2:621.

[1386] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 5:454; ʿAlī ibn Abī al-Karam Muḥammad ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī, *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, 3:184.

[1387] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 5:468; ʿAlī ibn Abī al-Karam Muḥammad ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī, *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, 3:194.

ibn Anas al-Nahāʾī severed Ḥusayn's blessed head from his body, this man said, "You have earned your reward. Give the head to us so that we may take it to ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, and we will also receive our reward." He and Ḥumayd ibn Muslim al-Azdī took the head to ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād. As their reward, each of them received one hundred gold coins. [1388]

Sinān ibn Anas: According to the narrations in the books *Tārīkh* by Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ[1389] and *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, [1390] it is written that the one who killed Ḥusayn was Shīmr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan. However, in the narrations of Muḥammad ibn Saʿd's *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá* and Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh*, it is mentioned that the one who killed him was Sinān ibn Anas al-Nahāʾī. [1391]

Shābath ibn Ribʿ al-Tamīmī: The life of this man is full of contradictions and changes. He was one of the leaders of the Tamīm tribe and one of the prominent figures in Kūfah. He became a Muslim during the life of the Messenger of God ﷺ, may and his family, but did not meet him. Therefore, he is known as a *muḥaḍram* (one who converted to Islam after the death of the Prophet). He was one of those who rebelled against ʿUthmān alongside the Kūfans. When ʿAlī became the caliph, he joined ʿAlī and became his confidant. He fought with ʿAlī against Muʿāwiyah. In the Battle of Ṣiffīn, he was the commander of the left wing, while Ḥujr ibn ʿAdīy was the commander of the right wing. When ʿAlī sent ʿAdīy ibn Ḥātim and Shābas ibn Ribʿ as envoys to Muʿāwiyah to compel him to obey, he later joined the Khawārij faction, fighting against ʿAlī. Eventually, he aligned with Ḥasan, then wrote to Ḥusayn and invited him to Kūfah. Despite the invitation, he did not join Ḥusayn and instead joined the army of ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, who appointed him as the commander of the flag bearers. While ʿUmar ibn Saʿd was organizing his army, he appointed Shābas ibn Ribʿ as the

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[1388] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, (The *supplementary* volume), fifth *ṭabaqah*, 1:473, 475; Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 5:453, 468.

[1389] Khalīfah ibn al-Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfah*, 235.

[1390] ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, 1:287.

[1391] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, (The supplementary volume), fifth *ṭabaqah*, 1:473; Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 5:450, 468; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, 2:243.

commander of the infantry. He had once believed in a woman from Yemen, named Sajāʾ bint al-Ḥārith, who claimed prophethood. He served as her caller-to-prayer, and while he was serving her, he encountered Musaylimah. Musaylimah said to him, "Announce to your followers that the Messenger of God, Musaylimah ibn Ḥabīb, has lifted the obligation of the sunset and sunrise prayers." After that, Shābas abandoned Sajāʾ, repented, and returned to Islam. He later became one of the followers of al-Mukhtār al-Thaqafī. However, he abandoned him too, opposed al-Mukhtār, and joined ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr. He fought against the forces of Muṣʿab ibn al-Zubayr, joining his army. [1392]

Those who were martyred along with Ḥusayn:

1. Ḥusayn, who was martyred by Sinān ibn Anas al-Nahāʾī. His head was severed by Ḥawlī bn Yazīd al-Asbahī.
2. ʿAlī's son, ʿAbbās al-Akbar. He was killed by Zayd ibn Ruqād al-Janbī and Ṭayyiʾ tribe's Ḥakīm al-Sanbisī.
3. ʿAlī's son, Jaʿfar al-Akbar. He was killed by Hāniʾ ibn Thubayt al-Ḥaḍramī.
4. ʿAlī's son, ʿAbd Allāh. He was also killed by Hāniʾ ibn Thubayt al-Ḥaḍramī. These three brothers share the same mother, Umm al-Banīn, daughter of Ḥizām, son of Khālid ibn Rabīʿa.
5. ʿAlī's son, ʿUthmān. Ḥawlī ibn Yazīd shot an arrow at him, and a man from the tribe of Abān ibn Dārim killed him.
6. ʿAlī's son, Abū Bakr.
7. ʿAlī's son, Muḥammad al-Aṣghar. A man from the tribe of Abān ibn Dārim killed him.
8. Ḥusayn's son, ʿAlī Akbar. He was killed by Murrī ibn Munqidh ibn Nuʿmān al-ʿAbdī.
9. Ḥusayn's son, ʿAbd Allāh. He was killed by Hāniʾ ibn Thubayt al-Ḥaḍramī.
10. Ḥusayn's son, Jaʿfar. He was killed by ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUqbah al-Ghanawī.

[1392] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 3:273, 5:63, 85, 353, 370, 422, 6:22; ʿAlī ibn Abī al-Karam Muḥammad ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī, *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, 2:211, 641, 678, 3:133, 142; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 3:541, 554, 5:57.

11. Ḥasan's son, ʿAbd Allāh. He was killed by Ḥarmalah ibn al-Kāhil from the Asad tribe.
12. Ḥasan's son, Qāsim. He was killed by Saʿd ibn ʿAmr al-Azdī.[1393]
13. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar's son, ʿAwn. He was killed by ʿAbd Allāh ibn Qutbah al-Ṭāʾī.
14. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar's son, Muḥammad. He was killed by ʿĀmir ibn Nahshal al-Tamīmī.
15. ʿAqīl's son, Muslim. He was killed by ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād in Kūfah.
16. ʿAqīl's son, Jaʿfar. He was killed by Bishr ibn Khawwāt al-Hamdānī. Some historians claim that he was killed by ʿUrwah ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāsimī.
17. ʿAqīl's son, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. He was killed by ʿUthmān ibn Khālid al-Juhānī and Bishr ibn Khawwāt.
18. ʿAqīl's son, ʿAbd Allāh. He was killed by ʿAmr ibn Ṣubayḥ al-Sudāʾī.
19. Muslim ibn ʿAqīl's son, ʿAbd Allāh. He was killed by ʿAmr ibn Ṣubayḥ al-Sudāʾī.
20. ʿAqīl's son, Abū Saʿīd's son, Muḥammad. He was killed by Laqīt al-Juhanī.
21. An unnamed descendant of Abū Lahab.
22. A descendant of Ḥārith, son of Abū Sufyān, known as Abū al-Hayyāj.
23. Ḥusayn's freed slave, Sulaymān. He was killed by Sulaymān ibn ʿAwf al-Ḥaḍramī.
24. Ḥusayn's freed slave, Manjah.
25. Ḥusayn's foster brother, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Bukhtūr. He was thrown from the palace roof in Kūfah and killed. These are the ones who were martyred along with Ḥusayn, including his sons, brothers, and nephews, who are of the Hashimite lineage.

26 & 27. The deaths of the two sons of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar are very tragic and thought-provoking. The incident unfolded as follows: These two children, who had not yet reached the age of puberty, sought refuge with the wife of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Kutbah al-Ṭāʾī. ʿUmar ibn Saʿd

[1393] In *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 5:468, Ṭabarī reports the name as Saʿd ibn ʿAmr, whereas in *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, 4:93, Ibn al-Athīr records it as ʿAmr ibn Saʿd. In *Maqātil al-Ṭālibīyīn*, 88, the name also appears as ʿAmr ibn Saʿd.

announced to his soldiers: "Whoever brings me a head will receive a thousand dirhams." ʿAbd Allāh ibn Kutbah went home, and his wife said to him, "These two children have taken refuge with us. Would you send them to their family in Madīnah?" He replied, "Show them to me." Upon seeing them, he beheaded them both and took their heads to ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād. ʿUbayd Allāh offered him no reward and said, "I wish you had brought them to me alive, I would have shown my gratitude to ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar." Hearing this, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar remarked, "I would have given him two million dirhams if he had brought them to me alive."

Five individuals from Ḥusayn's household and close relatives survived:

1. His son, ʿAlī al-Aṣghar (the younger ʿAlī), also known as Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn. He is the father of Ḥusayn's descendants. Due to illness, he was being cared for by the women.
2. Ḥasan's son, Ḥasan. His lineage continues.
3. Ḥasan's son, ʿAmr. He has no descendants.
4. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar's son, Qāsim.
5. ʿAqīl's son, the younger Muḥammad. [1394]

These individuals were considered mustaẓʿaf (powerless) and were spared from harm. Along with them, the severed heads of Ḥusayn's daughters and women, along with the head of Ḥusayn himself, were brought to ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād.

The women included:

Ḥusayn's daughters, Fāṭimah and Sukaynah.

His wife, Rabāb, daughter of Imrūʾ al-Qays from the Banī Kalb tribe. She is the mother of his daughter Sukaynah and the martyred son, ʿAbd Allāh.

Ḥusayn's daughter-in-law, Umm Muḥammad, daughter of Ḥasan.

[1394] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:475-479; Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá al-kabīr*, 3:336; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 3:303.

Some of his freed slaves, as well as slaves and concubines who had not yet been freed.

[The night before the battle, Ḥusayn urged all those with him to slip away in the middle of the night. He repeated that the troops gathered wanted *him* dead, not them. He released all of them from any oaths of allegiance that they gave to him and urged them to save themselves. He even had all the candles blown out so people would not be embarrassed to be seen walking away. When the candles were lit again, everyone remained in their places.

The noble dedication of those few brave men and women who saw clearly the right from the wrong, and were willing to fight to the death to protect the Qur'ān and the traditions of the Prophet ﷺ from his enemies and the enemies of his Ahl al-Bayt, is remembered and honored by Muslims every year, on the anniversary of the massacre, to this day.]

THE MUTILATION OF THE BELOVED GRANDSON OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD

Ḥusayn's possessions were plundered: When Ḥusayn was killed, his belongings were looted. A man named Kalānis from the Banū Nahshal took his sword. Another sword was taken by Jumayʿ ibn al-Khalq al-Awdī. His inner garment was taken by Baḥr ibn Kaʿb al-Tamīmī, who left him naked. His velvet fabric was taken by Qays, the son of al-Ashʿath ibn Qays al-Kindī. His shoes were taken by Aswad ibn Khālid al-Awdī. His turban was taken by Jābir ibn Yazīd. His silk robe was taken by Mālik ibn Bashīr al-Kindī.[1395]

An Iraqi man took the jewelry and ornaments of Ḥusayn's daughter, Fāṭimah. He was crying as he looted them from her. Fāṭimah asked, "Why are you crying?" The Iraqi man said, "Should I not cry while I am looting the possessions of the daughter of the Messenger of God ﷺ?"

Ḥusayn's son ʿAlī al-Aṣghar (Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn) was severely ill and couldn't even get out of bed. Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan said, "Kill this one too." One of his companions said, "*Subḥān Allāh*! [Glory be to God!] Would you kill this youth who has not fought, who is sick?" At that moment, ʿUmar ibn Saʿd arrived and said, "Do not harm this sick one or these women."

ʿAlī said: One of them hid me, embraced me, and treated me well. Whenever he came in and out, he would cry. I even said to myself: If there is any loyalty and goodness left among people, then it is in this man. The agent of ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād proclaimed: "Whoever finds Ḥusayn's son ʿAlī, let him bring him to us. Whoever does so will receive three hundred dirhams." The man who had hidden me came to me, bound my hands around my neck in tears, and said, "I am afraid." By God, he took me to them bound and received the three hundred dirhams. I looked at him. They took me and brought me to ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād. ʿUbayd Allāh asked, "What is your name?" I said, "ʿAlī, son of Ḥusayn." He said, "Did God not kill ʿAlī?" I replied, "I had an older brother named ʿAlī. They killed him." ʿUbayd Allāh said, "God killed him." I said: "God takes the souls at the time of their death" [1396]

[1395] *Burnus* is a hooded cloak. In the early years of Islam, it was worn by those devoted to worship.

[1396] Q. al-Zumar, 39:42.

ʿUbayd Allāh gave the order to kill ʿAlī al-Aṣghar. Ḥusayn's sister Zaynab cried out: "O, son of Ziyād, is it not enough that you have shed our blood? I implore you by God, if you must kill him, then kill me too!" Upon this, ʿUbayd Allāh refrained from killing him. [1397]

An order came to ʿUmar ibn Saʿd to send those who had survived along with Ḥusayn to ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād in Kūfah. ʿUmar sent the survivors and Ḥusayn's head with Ḥawlī ibn Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī to ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād. As the women and children were being taken to Kūfah, they were made to pass by the corpses of the slain. One of the women cried out, "Alas, O, Muḥammad! Ḥusayn lies here drenched in blood; his family and women have been taken captive!" All who saw and heard this, both friend and foe, were moved to tears.

They were brought and presented to ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād. ʿUbayd Allāh asked, "Who is this woman?" They said, "This is his sister Zaynab." ʿUbayd Allāh said, "Have you seen what God has done to your family (*ahl al-bayt*)?" Zaynab replied, "It was decreed that they be killed, and they went to their place of slaughter." She continued, "God will gather us, them, and you together." ʿUbayd Allāh said, "Praise be to God who killed you and revealed your falsehood." Zaynab said, "Praise be to God who honored us with Muḥammad and purified us."

The matter of Ḥusayn's head: Reports concerning the burial place of Ḥusayn's head are quite few. The first opinion: It was buried in Kūfah. The second opinion: It was sent to Yazīd in al-Syria and buried there. The third opinion: It was sent to Madīnah and buried in the al-Baqīʿ cemetery, beside his mother, Fāṭimah. The fourth opinion: The Fāṭimids took Ḥusayn's head from ʿAsqalān to Egypt and buried it in the place known today as the mosque of Ḥusayn. Muḥammad Ṣāmil al-Sulamī, who edited the supplementary volumes of *Ṭabaqāt Ibn Saʿd*, summarized these opinions. He argued, relying on Ibn Kathīr, that the report that it was sent to Madīnah is not correct, and that it was not even sent to Yazīd in Syria. Ibn Kathīr adopted this view under the influence of Ibn Taymīyah.

The incident of poking Ḥusayn's lip with a stick: There is disagreement among ḥadīth transmitters and historians regarding the

[1397] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 5:211, 212.

incident of poking at the lip with a stick. According to Muḥammad ibn Saʿd and al-Ṭabarānī, both ʿUbayd Allāh and Yazīd committed this act.

The report of al-Bukhārī: Anas ibn Mālik narrated: Ḥusayn ['s head] was brought, and his head was placed in a basin. ʿUbayd Allāh touched his nose with a stick and expressed admiration for its beauty. Anas said: "Ḥusayn most resembled the Messenger of God ﷺ. His hair and beard were dyed with *wasmah* (a type of indigo)." [1398] As is evident, this report is quite brief.

The reports in Muḥammad ibn Saʿd's *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*: The report of Zayd ibn Arqam: When the severed heads were placed before ʿUbayd Allāh, he struck Ḥusayn's mouth with a stick in his hand and spoke the following lines of Poetry: "We strike the heads of the noble among us, For they were disobedient and more tyrannical." [1399] The Companion Zayd ibn Arqam, who was present there, said: "Lift that stick away from there. The Messenger of God ﷺ used to place his mouth on that very spot you are hitting with the stick." [1400]

The report of Anas ibn Mālik: Anas ibn Mālik said: When Ḥusayn's head was brought to ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, I was present. He poked the lips with the stick in his hand and said: "What a beautiful mouth." Anas ibn Mālik said: "By God, I shall cause you harm, for I saw the Messenger of God ﷺ kiss the place where you placed the stick." Upon this, he withdrew the stick. [1401]

ʿUbayd Allāh ordered Ḥusayn's head to be mounted upon a post. Zirr ibn Ḥubaysh said: "The first head ever mounted on a post was that of Ḥusayn." Al-Shaʿbī said: "The first head ever to be mounted in Islam was the head of Ḥusayn." [1402]

[1398] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 5:32 #3748; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 21:285 #13748; Muḥammad ibn ʾĪsá al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 6:125 #3778; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār*, 13:184 #6632, 13:236 #6734, 13:243 #6752, 14:23 #7423; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:429 #6972; Abū Yaʿlá Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, *al-Musnad*, 5:227 #2841, 7:61 #3981.

[1399] These two verses are lines of poetry by Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥumām al-Murrī.

[1400] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:468, 443; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 5:141 #4964, 5:146 #4978.

[1401] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:482, 444; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 3:206 #2809, 3:207 #2810.

[1402] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:483 #445, 446.

ʿUbayd Allāh ordered that those who had been with Ḥusayn and survived be imprisoned in his palace. Dhakwān Abū Khālid said to ʿUbayd Allāh: "Let me bury these severed heads." Zakwān shrouded the severed heads and buried them in Kūfah, in the cemetery known as Jabbānah. Then he mounted his ride and went to the corpses, shrouded them as well, and buried them. Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn had been killed alongside Ḥusayn. His wife said to her servant, whose name was Shajarah: "Go, bury your master." Shajarah went, then returned shortly and said to the woman: "When I went, I saw Ḥusayn lying on the ground. I said to myself, 'Should I leave Ḥusayn like this and shroud my master instead?' So I shrouded Ḥusayn." She returned and informed the wife. The woman said: "You did well," and gave her another shroud, saying: "Go now, and shroud your master." And she did so.

The commander of the detachment that martyred Ḥusayn was ʿUmar, the son of Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ. When he came to Kūfah, he said: "No man has returned to his family with more shame than I have. I obeyed the son of Ziyād, disobeyed God, and severed ties of kinship." Meanwhile, the envoy sent by Yazīd to ʿUbayd Allāh arrived in Kūfah. He conveyed Yazīd's command to ʿUbayd Allāh to send him the children, women, and household of Ḥusayn who had survived. Abū Khālid Zakwān lent ten thousand dirhams to the household of Ḥusayn, with which they prepared for their journey.

When ʿUbayd Allāh killed Ḥusayn, he dispatched Zahr ibn Qays al-Juʿfī to Yazīd to inform him of what had occurred. When Zahr arrived to Yazīd, the latter asked him: "What news do you bring?" Zahr replied: "O, Commander of the Believers, I bring you glad tidings of God's help and victory. The son of ʿAlī, Ḥusayn, came to us. With him were eighteen members of his household and seventy of his supporters. We confronted them and said: 'You must either submit to the judgment of ʿUbayd Allāh or fight.' They chose to fight. In the end, they sought refuge in rocky heights, ravines, fleeing as pigeons flee from hawks, glancing back in panic. God gave us victory over them. By God, O, Commander of the Believers, within the time it takes to slaughter a camel or take a midday nap, God relieved the believers of them. We pursued them to the very end. Their corpses lie naked upon the ground, their cheeks sunk in the dirt, their noses buried in the soil and sand. The wind blows their garments into the pits where they lie, summoning hyenas and predatory birds." Upon hearing this, Yazīd's eyes filled with

tears. He said: "I would have been content with you without the killing of Ḥusayn. Such is the fate of one who transgresses." Then he recited these verses: "Whoever tastes war, finds its taste bitter, And in the end it casts him into narrow and harsh places."

From the clan of ʿĀ'idh of Quraysh, Miḥifaz ibn Thaʿlabah brought Ḥusayn's head to Yazīd and said: "O, Commander of the Believers, I have brought you the head of the most foolish and most base of men." Yazīd replied: "The son borne by Miḥfaz's mother is more foolish and more base than he." But the man (i.e., Ḥusayn), he continued, had not recited God's verse: "You give dominion to whom You will, and You take away dominion from whom You will"[1403] Then, with the rod in his hand made from the bamboo reed known in Arabic as *ḥayzarān* (bamboo cane), he struck Ḥusayn's lips and recited the following verses: We strike the heads of the noble among us, For they were disobedient and more tyrannical. [1404] One of the Anṣār who was present said, "Lift your rod! I saw the Messenger of God ﷺ kiss the very spot where you have placed your rod."

According to the historian al-Ṭabarī, the Companion from the Anṣār was Abū Barzah al-Aslamī. However, this view has been criticized, as it is said that Abū Barzah al-Aslamī was in Iraq and not in Syria. [1405] Yet, it remains within the realm of possibility that Abū Barzat al-Aslamī had come to Syria on some occasion. The remaining women, children, and close relatives of Ḥusayn were brought before Yazīd. Bound with ropes, they were made to stand before him. Ḥusayn's son ʿAlī said, "O, Yazīd, by God, if the Messenger of God ﷺ saw us in this bound state, would he not be moved to pity for us?"

Upon hearing this, Yazīd ordered the ropes cut, and it became clear that he was troubled by what he saw. Ḥusayn's daughter Sukaynah said,

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[1403] Q. Āl ʿImrān, 3:26.

[1404] These two verses are from the poetry of Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥumām al-Murrī.

[1405] Sources reporting that Yazīd did this: Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:487 #448; Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 3:298; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī, *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥābah*, 6:3154 #7262; Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb*, 3:301; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt*, 4:263; Ibn Manẓūr Muḥammad ibn Mukarram, *Mukhtaṣar tārīkh Dimashq*, 8:445; ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 1:374; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 5:305; Ibn Kathīr Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar, *al-Bidāyah wa-al-nihāyah*, 8:209, 215.

"O, Yazīd, are the daughters of the Messenger of God ﷺ taken captive?" Yazīd replied, "O, daughter of my brother, by God, this condition weighs upon me more heavily than it does upon you." Then he continued: "By God, had there been kinship between the son of Ziyād and Ḥusayn, he would not have opposed him. But Sumayyah created the division between them. I would have been content with the obedience of the people of Iraq even without Ḥusayn's death. May God have mercy on the father of ʿAbd Allāh (i.e., Ḥusayn); the son of Ziyād acted hastily." Then turning to ʿAlī, he said, "Your father severed our kinship and contended with me over sovereignty. May God punish him for the sin of cutting the ties of kinship." One of the people of Syria said, "These captives are lawful for us." Ḥusayn's son ʿAlī replied, "You are lying and have debased yourself. They could only be lawful to you if you were to leave our religion and enter another." Yazīd lowered his head in reflection, then said to the Syrian, "Sit down." He said to ʿAlī, "If you wish to remain with us, I will honor the bonds of kinship and give you your due. And if you prefer to return to your homeland (Madīnah), I shall send you and continue to show you favor." ʿAlī replied, "Send me to my homeland." So Yazīd sent him to Madīnah and maintained his support and goodwill toward him. [1406]

Yazīd ordered that the women belonging to Ḥusayn be taken to the women's quarters. He commanded that mourning for Ḥusayn be held for three days. All the women present wept, and the mourning and weeping continued for three days. Yazīd's wife, Umm Kulthūm, daughter of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir ibn Kurayz, also wept. When Yazīd saw his wife weeping, he said, "You have the right to weep for the master and nobleman of Quraysh." Fāṭimah, the daughter of Ḥusayn, said to Yazīd's wife, "We have been left with nothing." His wife conveyed this to Yazīd, and he responded, "What has befallen them is greater than what has been taken from them. Whatever they have lost, I will compensate them with many times more."

Yazīd then summoned Ḥusayn's son ʿAlī, Ḥasan's son Ḥasan, and ʿAmr. Turning to ʿAmr, who was at that time eleven years old, and pointing to his own son Khālid, he asked, "Will you wrestle with him?" ʿAmr replied, "No, I will not wrestle with him. But give me a knife and give him a knife, and I will fight him." Yazīd embraced him and recited

[1406] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:490, 5:212.

the well-known Arabic proverb meaning, "This is a disposition passed down from your father and grandfather."

Yazīd then sent Ḥusayn's belongings, the remaining womenfolk, his close relatives, his children, and in addition to them the elderly freedmen of Banū Hāshim, the slaves of Banū ʿAlī, and the freed slaves of Abū Sufyān, with an escort, to Madīnah. He made preparations for whatever they needed.

Once more, Yazīd said to Ḥusayn's son, "If you wish to remain with us, we will uphold the ties of kinship and grant you your due. But if you wish to return to your homeland (Madīnah), I shall send you and continue to maintain my attention toward you." ʿAlī said, "Send me back to my homeland." Yazīd then sent them with Muḥriz ibn Masʿūd al-Kalbī and another man from the Bahrāʾ tribe. These two were among the virtuous people of Syria. He instructed the officers accompanying them, "Stop and rest wherever and whenever they wish." Yazīd sent the severed head of Ḥusayn to the governor of Madīnah, ʿAmr ibn Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ. ʿAmr said, "I would have preferred that he had not sent it to me." Marwān, who was present, said, "Be silent!" Then he took the head and placed it before him, held it by the tip of the nose, and recited these verses of ʿAmr ibn Maʿdī Karb: Would that the coldness were in the hands, And the redness were in the cheeks. It is as if he had spent the night wrapped in red-dyed garments. The meaning expressed by these verses is: "Would that you had not been slain."

ʿAmr ascended the pulpit and delivered a sermon. In it, he narrated the killing of Ḥusayn and said, "By God, I would have wished that his soul had remained in his body and that his head was still with his corpse. Had we continued as we were accustomed, he cursed us and we cursed him, had he severed ties and we maintained kinship, it would have been better." Then, Sāʾib ibn Abī Ḥubaysh, the son of al-Muṭṭalib ibn Asad, the son of ʿAbd al-ʿUzzá, stood up and said, "If Fāṭimah were alive and saw this, she would be deeply grieved." ʿAmr replied, "May you ever fall silent. Be quiet! I am the one who has vanquished the adversary and dragged his nose in the dust. Fāṭimah could not contend with me in this matter (i.e., grieve more than I do). By God, he is our son, and his mother is our daughter. Indeed, by God, if Fāṭimah were alive, she would be sorely grieved by his death." Sāʾib ibn Abī Hubaysh responded, "He is the son of Fāṭimah. And Fāṭimah is the daughter of Khadījah. Khadījah is the daughter of Khuwaylid. Khuwaylid is the son

of Asad, and Asad is the son of ʿAbd al-ʿUzzá," thus emphasizing their close kinship. By order of ʿAmr ibn Saʿīd, the severed head was shrouded and buried in the cemetery of al-Baqīʿ, beside his mother.[1407]

According to the narration in *al-Muʃam al-kabīr* by al-Ṭabarānī: Ḥusayn, the son of ʿAlī, did not consent to surrender or accept captivity. They fought against him, and he, along with his three sons and those who fought alongside him, were killed at a place called *Ṭaff*. ʿAlī, the son of Ḥusayn, as well as his daughter Fāṭimah and Sukaynah, were brought to ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād. ʿAlī was a youth who had reached puberty. ʿUbayd Allāh sent them to Yazīd. Yazīd seated Sukaynah behind the couch upon which he was reclining, so that she would not see the severed head of her father or his kin. ʿAlī, the son of Ḥusayn, had been bound.

Yazīd placed the severed head before him, poked its two lips, and said: "We strike the heads of noble men, For they were disobedient and more tyrannical." ʿAlī then recited the following verse:

﴿ مَا أَصَابَ مِنْ مُصِيبَةٍ فِي الأَرْضِ وَلا فِي أَنْفُسِكُمْ إِلا فِي كِتَابٍ مِنْ قَبْلِ أَنْ نَبْرَأَهَا إِنَّ ذَلِكَ عَلَى اللَّهِ يَسِيرٌ ﴾

"There is no calamity that befalls you on earth or in yourselves that was not written in a Book before We created it. Indeed, that is easy for God."[1408]

Upon hearing the poetry read by Yazīd, ʿAlī's recitation of the verse was heavy upon Yazīd, and he then recited the following verse from the book of God: "Whatever affliction befalls you is because of what your hands have earned. Yet He pardons much." [1409] ʿAlī then continued: "By God, if the Messenger of God ﷺ had seen us in such a state of bondage, he would have exerted great effort to free us from these bonds." Yazīd replied: "You speak the truth," and then ordered, "Unbind them." ʿAlī said: "If we were in a distant place from the Messenger of God ﷺ, he would have desired to bring us closer to him."

[1407] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:488-493.

[1408] Q, al-Ḥadīd, 57:22.

[1409] Q, al-Shūrá, 42:30.

Yazīd replied: "You speak the truth," and then ordered, "Bring them closer." At that moment, Fāṭimah and Sukaynah struggled to get a look the severed head of their father. Yazīd made efforts to prevent them from seeing the head of their father. Yazīd gave orders, preparations were made, and they were sent to Madīnah.[1410]

Ṭabarānī's other narration: al-Ḍaḥḥāk narrated, saying: Ḥusayn went to Kūfah because he was displeased with the rule of Yazīd, the son of Muʿāwīyah. Yazīd wrote a letter to the governor of Iraq, ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, which contained the following: "The news reached me that Ḥusayn has gone to Kūfah. In times like these, your time, among the towns, and your land, among the regions, you have been tested. In such circumstances, one either gains freedom or, like those who are enslaved, becomes enslaved." ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād killed Ḥusayn and sent his head to Yazīd. When the head was placed before Yazīd, he recited the verse of Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥumām: "We split the heads of those who are dear to us, For they were disobedient and more tyrannical." [1411]

Yazīd pokinging Ḥusayn's lips with a stick: ʿUbayd Allāh sent the remaining prisoners along with Ḥusayn's severed head to Yazīd. When the head was placed before Yazīd, at that moment, Abū Barzah al-Aslamī was with him. Yazīd, with a stick in his hand, began stabbing the lips of Ḥusayn's severed head and said the following: "We split the heads of those who are dear to us, For they were disobedient and more tyrannical." [1412] Abū Barzah said: "Lift your stick! By God, I saw the Messenger of God ﷺ kiss his lips." Abū Barzah continued: "O, Yazīd,

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[1410] Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 3:173 #2739; Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Abī Bakr al-Haythamī, *Majmaʿ al-zawāʾid*, 9:128 #15148, has reported this narration and stated: al-Ṭabarānī narrated it and the transmitters in its chain are *thiqah* (trustworthy).

[1411] Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 3:193 #2777. For this narration, Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, in *Majmaʿ al-zawāʾid*, 9:126 #15137, transmitted the narration and stated the following assessment: al-Ṭabarānī narrated it and the narrators in the chain are trustworthy. However, al-Ḍaḥḥāk did not reach this event (i.e., he was born after it occurred). This means the narration has a discontinuity; therefore, it is weak.

[1412] These two lines are from the poetry of Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥumām al-Murrī.

on the Day of Judgment, your intercessor will be the son of Ziyād, but the intercessor of this one will be Muḥammad ﷺ." [1413]

Regarding the location where Ḥusayn's head is buried: Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī in his book, *al-Thiqāt*, writes the following about this matter: ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād sent Ḥusayn's head to Damascus. Along with the head, the women and children of the family of the Messenger of God ﷺ who had been taken captive, with their faces, hair, and heads uncovered, were placed on small camel saddles and sent. The caravan heading to Damascus, whenever they stopped at a resting place, would take the head out of the chest, place it on the tip of a spear, and display it. The head would remain like this until they set off again, at which point it would be returned to the chest. They continued on their journey in this manner.

At one of the stopping places, there was a church of a monk. As was their custom, they took the head out, placed it on the spear, and leaned it against the church wall. That night, the monk saw a light shining upwards from the church into the sky. He went to the travelers and asked: "Who are you?" "We are from the people of Damascus," they replied. He then asked: "Whose head is this?" "This is the head of Ḥusayn, the son of ʿAlī," they responded. The monk said: "You are evil people! I swear by God, if this were the son of ʿĪsá (Jesus), we would have placed him before our eyes [showed him great respect] ." He then continued: "I have ten thousand dīnars [gold coins]. These dīnars have been inherited from my grandfather to my father and from my father to me. I will give you these ten thousand dīnars. Let this head stay with me tonight." The caravan leaders replied: "Alright." The monk brought the dīnars, and they were weighed under the supervision of a money changer. They placed the dīnars in a bag, sealed it, and gave the head to the monk. The monk washed the head, placed it on his lap, and wept over it the whole night. In the morning, addressing the head, he said:

[1413] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 3:298-341; ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 1:374; Ibn al-Athīr ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Usd al-ghābah*, 3:64; *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, 2:180; Ibn Manẓūr Muḥammad ibn Mukarram, *Mukhtaṣar tārīkh Dimashq*, 8:21, 3:192; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 5:305; *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 5:20; Ibn Kathīr Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar, *al-Bidāyah wa-al-nihāyah*, 8:209, 8:215; Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt*, 4:263; Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAlī, *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, 1:297; Ibn al-Wardī ʿUmar ibn Muẓaffar, *Tārīkh Ibn al-Wardī*, 1:164.

"O, head, I have nothing but my soul. I bear witness that there is no god but God, and that your grandfather is the Messenger of God," and he became a Muslim, joining those who loved Ḥusayn. He returned the head to them.

They placed the head back in the chest and continued on their journey. As they neared Damascus, they said: "Let us divide the dīnars we received. If Yazīd sees them, he will take them from us." The bag containing the dīnars was in a chest. When they opened the chest and took out the bag, they opened the seal. What did they find? All the dīnars had turned into fire-baked clay bricks. On one side of the pieces, it was written:

﴿ وَلَا تَحْسَبَنَّ اللَّهَ غَافِلًا عَمَّا يَعْمَلُ الظَّالِمُونَ ﴾

"Do not think that God is unaware of what the wrongdoers do!" [1414] And on the other side was written:

﴿ وَسَيَعْلَمُ الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا أَيَّ مُنْقَلَبٍ يَنْقَلِبُونَ ﴾

"Those who have wronged will soon know to which destination they will be returned." [1415]

They saw the verses written on the pieces [gold coins turned into clay], and they swore by God, saying, "We have been humiliated." They threw the pieces into the Baradā river in Damascus. Some of them repented after witnessing this event, while others remained stubborn in their views. The leader of those who persisted in their opinions was Sinān ibn ʿAnas al-Nakhaʿī. The children and women of the family of God's Messenger ﷺ, who had been captured as prisoners, entered Damascus with their faces, hair, and heads uncovered, mounted on small camel saddles. When the head was placed in front of Yazīd, the son of Muʿāwiyah, he poked the teeth with his stick and remarked, "How beautiful these teeth are!" As I have already detailed the full account and its particulars in the section on the rule of the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids in the *Kitāb al-khulafā'* (Book of the Caliphs), there is no need to repeat it here.[1416]

[1414] Q, Ibrāhīm, 14:42.

[1415] Q, al-Shuʿarā', 26:227.

[1416] Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *al-Thiqāt*, 2:312.

In his book *Mashāhīr ʿulamāʾ al-amṣār* (Famous Scholars of the Cities), Ibn Ḥibbān has written the following: "The son of Abū Ṭālib, Ḥusayn, is the son of Fāṭimah al-Zahrāʾ. His *kunyah* (patronymic) is Abū ʿAbd Allāh. He was killed on the 10th of Muḥarram, the Day of ʿĀshūrāʾ, in the 61st year (of the hijrah), killed while thirsty in Karbalā. This event took place during the rule of Yazīd, the son of Muʿāwiyah. His severed head was sent to Damascus. There is a disagreement regarding the location of his burial. Some claim that he was buried in Damascus, near the third tower by the Farādīs Gate. Others say that he is buried near the right side of the *qiblah* of the Great Mosque in Damascus, beneath the column next to the green dome. I have seen that column. Some believe that Yazīd buried the head next to his father Muʿāwiyah's grave. However, his body is certainly in Karbalā." [1417]

Dr. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Sallābī's writings: Dr. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Sallābī, an important historian, wrote a book titled *Istishhād al-Ḥusayn bayn al-ḥaqāʾiq wa-al-awhām*. He cites Ibn Taymīyah, Ibn Kathīr, and al-Dhahabī in his work. From what I gather from his writings, he prefers the view of Ibn Taymīyah regarding the burial place of Ḥusayn's head. The summary of what he wrote in his book is as follows: [1418]

Those responsible for the killing of Ḥusayn:

1. Yazīd, the son of Muʿāwiyah.
2. ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād.
3. The commander of the army, ʿUmar, the son of Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ.
4. The people of Kūfah.

There are six different places where the head of Ḥusayn has been reported to be buried. The first place is in Damascus (Syria). Ibn Asākir, with a chain of narration (isnād), reports from Yazīd's wet nurse, Rayyā, who narrates the following: The head of Ḥusayn remained in the armories until the time of the Caliphate of Sulaymān. Sulaymān requested the head. By then, only the bones remained. Sulaymān applied some fragrant oils to the head, wrapped it in a shroud, and buried it. When the Abbasid soldiers with the black flag arrived, they

[1417] Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr ʿulamāʾ al-amṣār*, 25 #7.

[1418] ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Ṣallābī, *Istishhād al-Ḥusayn bayn al-ḥaqāʾiq wa-al-awhām*, 1:49.

asked about the head's burial place. They dug up the spot and retrieved the head. What they did after that is known only to God. [1419]

Al-Dhahabī narrates the following account from Abū Qabīl: Abū Ḥamzah ibn Yazīd al-Ḥaḍramī said, "I saw Yazīd's wet nurse, Rayyā, who was one of the wisest and most beautiful of women. According to her, she lived for one hundred years. Rayyā said: A man entered Yazīd's presence and told him, 'Good news! God has granted you the opportunity to destroy Ḥusayn.' He brought the severed head. The head was placed in a basin. Yazīd ordered the servant to uncover it. When Yazīd saw the head, he covered his face as if he had received an unpleasant smell from it. I asked Rayyā: 'Did Yazīd stab the teeth of the head with his stick?' She replied, 'Yes, by God, he did'." The narrator, Ḥamzah, says: "Some of our relatives told me that the head of Ḥusayn hung in Damascus for three days."

Rayyā also narrated: "The head remained in the armories until Sulaymān became the caliph. When he became caliph, he requested the head. It was brought to him, but only a white bone remained. He placed the head in a basket, applied fragrant oils, wrapped it in a shroud, and buried it in the Muslim graveyard. When the Abbasid soldiers with the black flag entered Syria, they inquired about the head's burial place. They dug up the spot and retrieved the head. What happened after that is known only to God." The rest of the story is lengthy, and the chain of narration is strong. [1420]

Ibn Kathīr also wrote the following on this matter: According to historians and scholars of biography, it is well-known that ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād sent Ḥusayn's head to Yazīd, the son of Muʿāwiyah. Some people deny this, but in my opinion, the first account is more famous. The truth is known only to God. Later, there was a dispute regarding the place where the head was buried. According to the narration of Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, Yazīd sent the head to the governor of Madīnah, ʿAmr ibn Saʿd, who buried it in the Baqīʿ cemetery next to his mother's grave.

In Ibn Asākir's history, in the biography of Yazīd's wet nurse, Rayyā, it is mentioned that when Ḥusayn's head was presented to Yazīd, he recited the following couplets by Ibn al-Zibaʿrī: "I wish my elders at

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[1419] Ibn ʿAsākir ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan narrates this in the section on women's biographies.
[1420] Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalā'*, 3:319; *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 2:636.

Badr could see the suffering of the Khazraj from the spears of *asal*." Then the head was hung in Damascus for three days and placed in the armories. This continued until the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik's son, Sulaymān. During his caliphate, the head was brought to him. It remained only as white bone. Fragrant oils were applied to it, it was shrouded, and buried in the Muslim graveyard. When the ʿAbbāsid soldiers with the black flag arrived, they dug up the grave and took the head. Ibn Asākir also mentions that this woman (Rayyā) lived after the fall of the Umayyad dynasty and lived to be over 100 years old. The truth is known only to God.

The Fāṭimids, a group that ruled in Egypt from the 4th century AH until 660 AH, claim that they brought Ḥusayn's head to Egypt and buried it. They also claim to have built the tomb known as "The Head of Ḥusayn" in Egypt. Many scholars from the school of the imāms have firmly stated that this claim is false. Their purpose in rejecting this claim is to reveal that their assertion of noble descent is invalid. These individuals are considered liars and traitors in this matter. Qāḍī Bāqillānī and many other scholarly imāms clearly stated this during the 4th century AH, when their rule was in place. God willing, we will explain all of this in due course. Ibn Kathīr concludes: "I say: They brought a head, and placed it in the aforementioned mosque, claiming that it was Ḥusayn's head. This spread and people believed it. The truth is known only to God."[1421]

The second claim is that the head of Ḥusayn is buried in Karbalāʾ. Except for those belonging to the Imāmī Shīʿī sect, no one else has stated that the head is in Karbalāʾ. They claim that forty days after Ḥusayn's death, his head was returned to Karbalāʾ and buried next to his body.[1422] This is known as the "visit on the fortieth day" among Imāmī Shīʿī followers. However, they have no evidence to support this claim. It consists of statements detached from proof and reasoning. The ḥadīth scholar Abū Naʿīm al-Faḍl ibn Dukayn does not accept the opinions of those who claim to know the location of Ḥusayn's grave. [1423] Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī and other historians have stated that the traces of the place

[1421] Ibn Kathīr Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar, *al-Bidāyah wa-al-nihāyah*, 8:222.

[1422] Muʾmin ibn Ḥasan al-Shablanjī, *Nūr al-abṣār*, 121.

[1423] Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 1:475.

where he was killed have been erased, and no one has been able to identify it.[1424]

The third claim is that the head of Ḥusayn is buried in Raqqah. The famous scholar Abū al-Faraj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Jawzī's grandson, Yūsuf ibn Ḥusām al-Dīn Kızoğlu (d. 654 in Syria), known as Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, claims this in his historical work *Mirʾāt al-zamān fī tawārīkh al-aʿyān*. The fourth claim is that the head of Ḥusayn is buried in ʿAsqalān. This view has been rejected and refuted. Ibn Taymīyah is among those who reject it, and we will evaluate his views. The fifth claim is that the head of Ḥusayn is buried in Cairo. In 549 AH, when the Crusaders began their campaign to capture ʿAsqalān, the Fāṭimid vizier Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʾī ibn Zurayq, along with his soldiers, barefooted, went to Ṣāliḥīyah. They found the head, placed it in a green silk bag, and placed it on a throne made of ebony. They spread ambergris and pleasant fragrances beneath it. They then buried it in the well-known tomb near Khān al-Khalīlī. This event occurred on the eighth Sunday of the month of Jamādī al-Awwal in the year 548 AH. [1425] The sixth claim is that the head of Ḥusayn is buried in Madīnah. According to the narration transmitted by Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, Yazīd sent the head to the governor of Madīnah, ʿAmr ibn Saʿīd, who wrapped it in a shroud and buried it in the Baqīʿ cemetery, next to his mother, Fāṭimah. [1426] Al-Sallābī mentions that Ibn Taymīyah also wrote about this issue. [1427]

When I reviewed the writings of Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī in his history, I found that these were not his own claims but the views of those who had written before him. He wrote: "There is a difference of opinion about where Ḥusayn's head is buried:

1. It was buried in the Baqīʿ cemetery next to his mother.
2. It was sent from Syria back to Karbalāʾ and buried next to his body.
3. It was buried in Damascus (Syria), but there is also a disagreement about the exact location in Syria: a. It was buried

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[1424] Ibn Kathīr Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar, *al-Bidāyah wa-al-nihāyah,* 8:221.

[1425] Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Qāhirah*, 1:427; *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, 3:22; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Īyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, 1:227.

[1426] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, ed. Sulamī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:490-493; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 5:583.

[1427] ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Ṣallābī, *Istishhād al-Ḥusayn bayn al-ḥaqāʾiq wa-al-awhām*, 1:82-88.

at the Farādīs Gate. b. It was buried in the palace of the caliphate. c. It was buried in the general Muslim cemetery. d. When the ʿAbbāsids arrived in Syria, they asked about the burial place, dug up the grave, and took the head. What happened afterward is unknown.

4. It was buried near the great mosque in Raqqah.
5. It was buried in Marv, in the province of Khurāsān. When Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī entered Syria, he took the head and buried it in Marv." [1428]

Summary of Ibn Taymīyah's views: What Ibn Taymīyah wrote in three of his books: *al-Fatāwā al-kubrá*, *Raʾs Ḥusayn*, and *Minhāj al-sunnah*: According to our determination, the debate concerning where Ḥusayn's head was buried intensified primarily after what Ibn Taymīyah wrote in his books, and to this day the issue has not been resolved. Ibn Taymīyah authored an independent book of over one hundred pages under the title *Raʾs Ḥusayn* ("The Head of Ḥusayn") regarding the burial place of Ḥusayn's head. After this, the controversy escalated significantly and became entangled. In this book, Ibn Taymīyah wrote very little concerning Ḥusayn's head. Rather, he presented his views concerning graves in general, views not directly related to this topic, and defended them fervently. In the section regarding the head, he rejects the claim that the head was brought to Egypt, asserting that the beliefs of the Fāṭimids were invalid, that their lineage was not sound, and that they were liars. [His writings are more an attack on the political legitimacy of his opponents than a defense of any sunnah or religious tradition.] He even claims that the locations of ʿAlī's grave in Najaf and Ḥusayn's grave in Karbalāʾ are unknown, and that the sites known today are not authentic. From beginning to end of the section on Ḥusayn's head, he recounts Ḥusayn's departure from Madīnah to Makkah, then to Kūfah, his martyrdom, that his martyrdom elevated his rank, that ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās and other relatives strove earnestly to dissuade him from going, that ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād martyred him, that his household and relatives were sent to Damascus, that Yazīd treated them well and sent them back to Madīnah, and that the head was never sent to Damascus but rather sent from Iraq to Madīnah and buried beside his brother Ḥasan.

[1428] Yūsuf ibn Ḥusām al-Dīn Kīzūghlū, *Mirʾāt al-zamān fī tawārīkh al-aʿyān*, 8:167-170.

Additionally, in several places in the compilation *al-Fatāwá al-kubrá* ("The Major *Fatwás*"), he addresses this same topic. We call it a compilation because this book was not authored by Ibn Taymīyah himself. Rather, it was compiled by a scholar from Najd named ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Qāsim, who collected Ibn Taymīyah's legal opinions from his books and compiled this work. It is voluminous and contains much repetition. The Dār al-Iftāʾ edition printed by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia consists of 37 volumes.[1429]

Yazīd did not give the order for Ḥusayn's killing, nor did he rejoice at his death. Contrary to what is mentioned in some reports, he did not poke his lips with a stick. Ḥusayn's head was not taken to Damascus. He merely gave the order to prevent Ḥusayn from going to Kūfah and to keep him away from the matter (of allegiance).

What is established in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* is that the head was placed before ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād and that he poked the lips with a stick in the presence of Anas ibn Mālik. The report in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* is as follows: Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn narrated from Anas ibn Mālik. Anas said: Ḥusayn's head was placed in a basin and brought to ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād. He poked it with a stick, commenting on the beauty of his lips/teeth. Anas said: He was the one who most resembled the Messenger of God ﷺ. Ḥusayn had dyed his hair and beard with *wasmah* (a type of dye). [1430]

According to reports transmitted with broken chains of transmission, the incident of poking the lips with a stick was committed by Muʿāwiyah's son, Yazīd. This report is false, because Abū Barzah and Anas ibn Mālik were not in Damascus but in Iraq. At the time of Ḥusayn's killing, Muʿāwiyah's son Yazīd was in Damascus, not in Iraq. Whoever transmits that Yazīd touched the lips with a stick in the presence of Anas and Abū Barzah is certainly a liar. No one has transmitted anything about Yazīd that would necessitate a legal penalty or prove that he was on a deviant path. However, concerning what was seen from him with regard to the people of al-Ḥarrah, we have no doubt that it was an unlawful hostility. The siege of Constantinople, the soldiers who were the first to wage battle, counts among his good deeds. As can be seen, Ibn Taymīyah forcefully rejects as false and untrue everything said against Yazīd.

[1429] Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʿ al-fatāwá*, 4:507-509.

[1430] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 5:32 #3748.

We have summarized the points he raised in sections. In summary, the opinions and our responses are as follows:

- Yazīd did not give the order to ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād to kill Ḥusayn. **Response:** The fact that Yazīd did not give the order to kill Ḥusayn does not exonerate him. Since it was not clear what Ḥusayn would do or exactly where he was going, it would have been very abnormal to issue an order for his killing. Had Yazīd not rejoiced at Ḥusayn's killing, he would not have recited the verses reportedly attributed to him in the historical sources. Ibn Taymīyah, since he claims that the head was not sent to Damascus, also naturally does not accept that he uttered those verses. [That is ignoring numerous reports the history books.]
- This tomb in ʿAsqalān was not the tomb of Ḥusayn. His head is not in that tomb. **Response:** There is no evidence whatsoever for this claim.
- The tomb in ʿAsqalān appeared after the year 490 AH. The origin of the tomb in Cairo is the one in ʿAsqalān. This tomb came into existence 430 years after the killing of Ḥusayn. **Response:** These dates are accurate. However, their accuracy does not mean that Ḥusayn's head is not located there.
- A certain group claimed that the tomb in ʿAsqalān belonged to some Christians or some of the apostles (*ḥawārīyūn*). **Response:** He did not mention which group made this claim. In early sources such as Ibn Saʿd's *Ṭabaqāt*, Ibn Jarīr's *Tārīkh*, and works by al-Khalīfah and Ibn Ḥibbān, no such report is found. Christians do not construct tombs in the manner Muslims do.
- As for the tomb in Cairo believed to contain Ḥusayn's head, the scholars are unanimously agreed that it is false. That tomb contains neither the head of Ḥusayn nor any part of him. This tomb was fabricated toward the end of the reign of ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Qaddāḥ. **Response:** This claim is completely baseless. Which scholars have agreed upon it? There is no foundation or evidence whatsoever for the assertion that Ḥusayn's head is not in the tomb. Did Ibn Taymīyah open the grave and examine its contents? Rejecting a claim without any evidence is not persuasive.
- None of the individuals who compiled works about the killing of Ḥusayn, such as Abū Bakr ibn Abī al-Dunyā and Abū al-Qāsim al-

Baghawī, mentioned that the head was taken to either ʿAsqalān or Cairo. **Response:** The fact that these individuals did not mention it does not negate the reality that the head was transported from ʿAsqalān to Cairo by the Fāṭimids. [Just because these two people didn't mention it, does not mean it didn't happen]

- Some of those who wrote books about the killing of Ḥusayn, such as al-Baghawī and Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, were scholars. Despite this, their chains of transmission are disconnected and what they wrote is false. **Response:** No one has denied the fact that Ḥusayn was killed in Karbalāʾ. It is not established that he was buried at the site of his killing. That the head was taken to ʿUbayd Allāh has not been a point of contention. The claim that the head was sent to Damascus cannot be dismissed simply because the chains of transmission are disconnected. A disconnected chain means the report is *ḍaʿīf* (weak). If a sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) report exists with an uninterrupted chain that contradicts a weak report, the weak one is not accepted. However, in the absence of such a sound report, the weak one may be accepted. [moreover, the Ibn Taymīyah's logic is not sound when, in the previous point, he cites these two scholars as proof, then in this point he mentions that the same two scholars are unreliable.]
- Abū al-Khaṭṭāb ibn Diḥyah, in his book *al-ʿAlam al-mashhūr fī faḍāʾil al-ayyām wa-al-shuhūr* (The Renowned Sign in the Merits of the Days and Months), mentioned the following: those who wrote books about the killing of Ḥusayn are unanimously agreed (*ijmāʿ*) that the head of Ḥusayn was never removed from Kūfah. Before stating this, he emphasized at length that the tomb in Cairo said to contain Ḥusayn's head was a fabricated lie, and that it has no basis in reality. He also discussed the day of ʿĀshūrāʾ (the tenth of Muḥarram). **Response:** Which scholar, in which book, recorded a consensus that Ḥusayn's head was never taken from Kūfah? If Ibn Diḥyah wrote this, it is not correct, nor is it an acceptable claim. Ibn Diḥyah is known as a *kadhdhāb* (liar).
- In *al-ʿAlam al-mashhūr fī faḍāʾil al-ayyām wa-al-shuhūr*, Abū al-Khaṭṭāb ibn Diḥyah narrates from Zubayr ibn Bakkār, citing a report from Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan: the head of Ḥusayn was brought to Madīnah. The Umayyads had gathered in the presence of ʿAmr ibn Saʿīd. They heard wailing. When they asked what it was, they were told: "The women of the Banū Hāshim are weeping because they

have seen the head of ʿAlī's son, Ḥusayn." The head was then brought to ʿAmr. ʿAmr said: "I did not wish for the Commander of the Faithful to send me this head." Ibn Diḥyah then said: "This report is evidence that the head was brought to Madīnah. Other reports are not *ṣaḥīḥ* (sound)." **Response:** In these two passages that Ibn Taymīyah quotes from Ibn Diḥyah, there is a contradiction. In one, he says there is *ijmāʿ* (consensus) that the head was not removed from Kūfah, and in the next, he claims the head was brought to Madīnah. He vehemently rejects the narration that the head was sent from Kūfah to Damascus and from Damascus to Madīnah because its chain is disconnected, and he declares it a fabrication and a lie. Yet, for Ibn Diḥyah's report, he says, "This is the correct view; the others are false and fabricated."

- On the location of Ḥusayn's head, the opinion preferred by the scholars of knowledge is that which is mentioned in the book *Jamharat ansāb quraysh* (The Compendium of the Lineages of Quraysh) by Zubayr ibn Bakkār. Zubayr ibn Bakkār is among the most trustworthy and knowledgeable in such matters. He states that the head was taken to Madīnah and buried there. This is appropriate, since his brother Ḥasan, the uncle of his father al-ʿAbbās, and Ḥusayn's son ʿAlī, and others like them are all buried there. **Response:** Since the first two parts of Zubayr ibn Bakkār's book are lost, and the narration is quoted from him by Ibn Diḥyah, and Ibn Taymīyah did not see the chain of transmission of the report, it is evident that this view is claimed simply because it aligns with his own opinion. In our view, it is not correct to judge a report without seeing its *isnād* (chain of transmission). If in the narrations of Ibn Jarīr and Ibn Saʿd there is a *kadhdhāb* (liar), we reject it. The views of Zubayr ibn Bakkār in his book *Jamharat ansāb quraysh* are being quoted from the book of Ibn Diḥyah. The printed version of Zubayr ibn Bakkār's book is missing its opening sections; it begins from the third volume. It is likely that Ibn Taymīyah also saw that this was the case, and thus relied on the writings of Abū al-Khaṭṭāb ʿUmar ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Dihya al-Andalusī in *al-ʿAlam al-mashhūr fī faḍāʾil al-ayyām wa-al-shuhūr* to support his view. Ibn Diḥyah is not considered reliable in his transmissions. Al-Dhahabī, Ibn Ḥajar, and

Ibn al-Nuqṭah have all quoted scholars stating that Ibn Diḥyah was not reliable and that he was a liar.[1431]

- The reliable scholars and historians have stated that the head was sent to Madīnah and buried beside his brother, Ḥasan. **Response:** Ibn Taymīyah rejects the narration that the head was sent from Damascus to Madīnah, claiming it has a broken chain of transmission, but there is no narration stating the head was sent from Kūfah to Madīnah. His insistence on this, claiming it to be true, is to exonerate Yazīd. However, such an assertion cannot be accepted.
- The narration that the head was sent to Yazīd, placed before him, and he poked its teeth with a stick is reported through an unknown chain of transmission. **Response:** The responses we provided in previous sections are valid for this statement as well.
- The head of Ḥusayn was not sent to Damascus; this claim is completely false, and the narration regarding it has a broken chain of transmission, making it a fabricated (*mawḍū'*) narration. If the claim of sending it to Damascus is false, then the details narrated about it are also false. **Response:** Even though the narration that Ḥusayn's head was sent to Yazīd in Damascus by ʿUbayd Allāh is transmitted through a broken chain of transmission, this does not prove it is a lie or fabricated. It can only be stated that the narration is weak.
- The narration that the head was sent to Damascus, that Yazīd poked its lips with a stick, and that both Anas ibn Mālik and Abū Burzah were present there is entirely fabricated. Anas and Abū Burzah were living in Iraq and did not go to Damascus. **Response:** The claim that Anas ibn Mālik was present while Yazīd touched the head with a stick is not mentioned in any narration. In the narration of Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, Abū Burzah's name is not mentioned. Instead, it is stated that one of the Anṣār was present. Only in the narration of Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, who took it from Abū Mikhnaf, is Abū Burzah mentioned. Abū Burzah residing in Iraq does not imply that he never went to Damascus, and it is not impossible either. The family of Ḥusayn also lived in Iraq. Who can deny that they came to

[1431] Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, 3:186-189 #6073; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, 6:80-86 #5597; Ibn Nuktah Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Ḥanbalī, *Takmilat al-ikmāl*, 2:60 #1130.

Damascus? The act of ʿUbayd Allāh poking the head with a stick does not mean that Yazīd did not do so. Just as many historians accept that the head was sent to Damascus, both al-Dhahabī and Ibn Kathīr have also accepted it.

- It is true that Ḥusayn was killed in Karbalā', and his head was taken to ʿUbayd Allāh and placed before him, where ʿUbayd Allāh poked it with a stick. This is reported by al-Bukhārī. Everything else said about it is incorrect and false. **Response:** The brief and summarized narration of al-Bukhārī, stating that the head was taken to ʿUbayd Allāh, does not imply that it was not sent to Damascus. Al-Bukhārī does not mention anything about the head not being sent to Damascus. The claim that all other narrations are false and fabricated cannot be accepted.

- Ḥusayn's head was either buried in Kūfah or in Madīnah, alongside his mother and brother. **Response:** As we mentioned earlier, there is no evidence for Ibn Taymīyah's claim.
- The transfer of Ḥusayn's head from Askalān to Cairo is false. The head that was moved was not Ḥusayn's but belonged to a monk buried in the tomb in ʿAsqalān. The claimants who moved the head, the Ubaydīs/Fatimids, held corrupt beliefs, being adherents of the Bāṭīnī sect. They invented this tomb. Therefore, this tomb is false. There is a consensus among scholars on this matter.[1432] **Response:** The claim that a severed head was moved from the tomb in ʿAsqalān is not a lie. Many scholars who have witnessed this transfer have written about it in their works. The claim that a monk's head was moved is completely inappropriate. I have never read that Christians built tombs for monks. Muslims have built tombs for scholars and great figures. The foundation for the construction of tombs comes from the burial of the blessed body of the Messenger of God ﷺ in the chamber of his wife, ʿĀ'ishah. After the time of the Companions and the Followers after them, it became customary to build tombs for scholars and state leaders. The corrupt beliefs of the ʿUbaydī/Fāṭimid sect do not necessitate that this transfer be false. The claim of scholarly consensus (*ijmāʿ*) is also not a valid claim, as neither Ibn Diḥyah nor Ibn Taymīyah have named any scholars in

[1432] Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʿ al-fatāwá*, 3:410, 27:450, 455, 456, 457, 464, 468, 479; *Raʾs al-Ḥusayn*, 197, 199, 206; *Minhāj al-sunnah al-nabawīyah*, 4:334-338.

this regard. Many historians and scholars have accepted that the transfer of the head is true. The claim that there is no part of Ḥusayn in the tomb is completely baseless and without evidence. The fact that the Fatimids held incorrect beliefs and belonged to the Shīʿī or Bāṭinī sects cannot be used as evidence that this tomb is false. It is a well-known and clear fact that the al-Azhar University, which we know today [and which represents the center of Jamāʿī Sunnī Islamic studies today], was established by the Fāṭimids. If we were to dismiss this as a lie simply because of their beliefs, it would be absurd. These are separate issues. A person's belief being corrupt or belonging to a false sect cannot be a reason to reject a work or institution they have established. Most of Ibn Taymīyah's claims are without evidence. The claim of scholarly consensus (*ijmāʿ*) has no basis. [TN: In fact, both during his lifetime and today, most of the scholarly consensus of the Sunnī jamāʿah was and is against Ibn Taymīyah. His views have only resurfaced in modern times and gained popularity with a small minority of extremists, not the *ijmāʿ* (majority consensus) of the Sunnī community.] Therefore, we cannot accept what Zubayr ibn Bakkār has written. The claim of consensus is not correct. Muḥammad ibn Saʿd is as reliable a historian as Zubayr ibn Bakkār. One of the contradictions that Ibn Taymīyah falls into is the claim that Ḥusayn's head was either buried in Kūfah or Madīnah. He fervently defends the idea that the head was not sent to Damascus. We have already stated that it is not proven that it was buried in Kūfah. The claim that it was buried in Madīnah, according to the narrations of Ibn Saʿd and al-Ṭabarī, is as follows: The head was sent by ʿUbayd Allāh to Yazīd in Damascus, and Yazīd then sent it to his governor in Madīnah. Ibn Taymīyah strongly denies the narrations about the head being sent to Damascus. He argues that the most reasonable conclusion is that the head was buried in Madīnah. His reasoning for this claim is to exonerate Yazīd. This leads us to the question: How and by whom was the head sent to Madīnah without first being sent to Damascus? There is no narration stating that ʿUbayd Allāh directly sent the head to Madīnah. His claim is without evidence. While he rejects the narrations about the head being sent to Damascus, citing a broken chain of transmission, he still insists on the claim that it was sent from Kūfah to Madīnah, even though there is no narration [at

all] to support it [In other words, Ibn Taymīyah claims a report to be untrue because of a weak narration, but believes another report that has no narration at all]. If we reject the narrations about the head being sent to Damascus due to their weak chain of transmission, we cannot accept the claim that it was sent to Madīnah, as that also lacks evidence. Ibn Kathīr and al-Dhahabī both hold the view that the head was sent to Yazīd. Ibn Kathīr said: Regarding the head of Ḥusayn, the scholars and historians have differed into two opinions about whether ʿUbayd Allāh, the son of Ziyād, sent the head to Damascus. The stronger view is that he sent it to Yazīd, as there are many narrations on this matter. The truth is known only to God. [1433]

Responses to Ibn Taymīyah: The Egyptian Mustafá al-Ḥasanī wrote a rebuttal to Ibn Taymīyah under the title *al-Adillat al-bāhirah ʿalá wujūd al-raʾs al-Ḥusaynī al-sharīf bi-al-Qāhirah* (The Overwhelming Proofs Regarding the Presence of the Noble Head of Ḥusayn in Cairo). He published this article on his Facebook page. He provided responses that are acceptable to the views of Ibn Taymīyah. Second Rebuttal: Dr. Suʿād Māhir, in her book *Mısır Mescidleri Ansiklopedisi* (Encyclopedia of Egyptian Mosques), quoted from the works of Egyptian historians who wrote about the transfer of Ḥusayn's head from ʿAsqalān to Egypt, attempting to prove this assertion. Evaluation of the First View: The claim that the head was not in Madīnah is based on the following narration: The historian al-Masʿūdī wrote that, until the fourth century AH, a marble stone was found [at the Baqīʿ cemetery, near the Prophet's mosque in Madīnah] with the following inscription:

الحمد لله مبيد الأمم، ومحيي الرمم. هذا قبر فاطمة بنت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وسلم سيدة نساء العالمين. والحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب، وعلي بن الحسين بن علي، ومحمد بن علي، وجعفر بن محمد. رضوان الله عليهم أجمعين

"Praise be to God, the annihilator of nations and the reviver of the bones. This is the grave of Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Messenger of

[1433] Ibn Kathīr Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar, *al-Bidāyah wa-al-nihāyah*, 8:209; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 5:107.

God ﷻ, the Lady of the Women of the Worlds, and of Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, and ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, and Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī, and Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad. May God's peace and blessings be upon them all."

If the noble head of Ḥusayn had been buried with them, it would have been impossible not to mention the name of the Leader of Martyrs.

Evaluation of the Second View: According to the majority of the Imāmī Shīʿīs, Ḥusayn's head is said to have been buried with his body in Karbalā'. However, events do not confirm this. The idea that Yazīd had the head sent from Syria back to Karbalā' is not reasonable, especially considering the fact that the flames of the fire should not have been stoked further. Additionally, during the events of the year 236 AH, the Caliph al-Mutawakkil ordered the destruction of Ḥusayn's grave. Zīraj personally took the spade and, along with his men, dug down to the base of the grave, where they found no remains, no bones, nothing but decomposed soil.

Evaluation of the Third View: The claim that the head was in Khurāsān, at the *ribāṭ* (fortified monastery) in the city of Marv, is fundamentally incorrect. It is said that Abū Muslim transferred the head from Syria to there. However, when Syria was conquered, Abū Muslim was not present. Furthermore, the Abbasid Caliph, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAlī, would not have allowed this. If the head had indeed been there, he would have seized the opportunity to use it to stir up the people's anger against the Umayyad family.

Evaluation of the Fourth View: The most plausible view is that the head was placed in the weapons depot in Syria from the very beginning. The author describes how the head was transferred from ʿAsqalān to Egypt, citing historical sources.

After presenting the views of both those who deny and those who accept that the head was in Cairo, the conclusion reached is as follows: The head was sent to Syria. However, due to the contradictory narrations regarding whether the head was kept in a weapon depot in Syria or sent to Madīnah, we could not definitively choose which view is correct. We could not find any narration stating that the head was taken to ʿAsqalān and buried there. The only mention of this is in al-Shaplanci's *Nūr al-abṣār*, which cites no source for this claim. Ibn Taymīyah's claim that "the head that was transferred was the head of a monk" is utterly inappropriate and baseless. It is a claim without

evidence. Christians do not build tombs for their deceased, particularly for monks; they bury them in churches.

The event of the head being transferred from ʿAsqalān to Cairo is undeniably true. The responses to Ibn Taymīyah clearly establish this. However, we have not found clear proof to establish that the head was definitely Ḥusayn's. Nevertheless, it is well-known that the Fāṭimids, without hesitation, took the head they found in the tomb at ʿAsqalān and transported it to Cairo.

[TN: Note that there is one very important fact that the author does not mention, and none of the quoted sources seem to consider. In those days, the heads of enemies were paraded around the kingdom deliberately to serve as an example of what would happen to anyone who opposed the king. It is not only possible, but also very plausible, that the Ummayyads who just established their new (un-Islamic) kingdom and their new dynasty (the very thing that Ḥusayn opposed), wanted to parade Ḥusayn's head on a spear, all over the kingdom, so they advertized it at the governor's palace in Kufah, at the capital, Damascus, and at other major cities, before finally sending the head to its final resting place with Ḥusayn's body at Karbalāʾ. Later, local Muslims may have built memorials at those locations where the head of the blessed grandson of the Prophet of God was placed temporarily before being moved to the next city. Then, over time, people may have come to believe that the location marked isn't just where the head was displayed temporarily, but where it was actually buried. This would explain why there are so many different reports.]

In conclusion, we say: The truth is with God alone.

The News of Ḥusayn's Martyrdom Reaching Madīnah: Based on the narration of Muḥammad ibn Saʿd in his *Ṭabaqāt*, when the news of Ḥusayn's martyrdom reached Madīnah, the conversation between ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās and ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr was not considered due to the flaws in al-Wāqidī's narration. Shahr ibn Ḥawshab said: "I was with Umm Salamah, the wife of the Prophet ﷺ, when we heard a woman's cry. The woman came to Umm Salamah and said, 'Ḥusayn has been killed.' Umm Salamah responded, 'Did they do it? May God fill their houses or graves with fire!' And then she fainted. We all got up."[1434] Shahr ibn Ḥawshab said: When the news of the killing of Ḥusayn

[1434] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, Sulamī ed., *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:496 #452.

reached Umm Salamah, she cursed the people of Iraq and said: "They killed him, may God kill them. They deceived him and humiliated him, may God curse them." [1435]

What the people of Kūfah said regarding this event: When Ḥusayn was killed, Rabīʿ ibn Khuthaym recited the following verse: [1436]

﴿قُلِ اللَّهُمَّ فاطِرَ السَّماواتِ وَالْأَرْضِ عالِمَ الْغَيْبِ وَالشَّهادَةِ أَنْتَ تَحْكُمُ بَيْنَ عِبادِكَ فِي ما كانُوا فِيهِ يَخْتَلِفُونَ﴾

Say, "O, God, Creator of the heavens and the earth, Knower of the unseen and the seen, You judge between Your servants in that over which they differ." [1437]

Al-Thawrī Narrated from Mundhir, who said: When Ḥusayn was killed, some of the elders of Kūfah, including the son of Abū Mūsá al-Ashʿarī, Abū Burdah, said, "Let us go to Rabīʿ ibn Khuthaym to hear his opinion." They went to him and said, "Ḥusayn has been killed." He replied, "If the Messenger of God ﷺ had come to Kūfah and found one of his family members here, who would he have stayed with? He would have stayed with them." With this, they had learned his opinion. [1438] Mundhir narrated, saying: When we spoke about Ḥusayn, the son of ʿAlī, and those who were killed with him, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah said: "All of the seventeen youths who were killed were from the womb of Fāṭimah." [1439]

Some other narrations on this topic: Abū al-Aswad Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān said: "The leader of the Jews encountered me and said: 'There are seventy generations between me and David. When the Jews meet me, they honor and respect me. But you have killed the son of the man who has only one generation between him and your prophet'." [1440] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥumayd al-Ruʾāsī said: "The son of Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, ʿUmar ibn Saʿd, passed by me near Nahd and greeted people.

[1435] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, Sulamī ed., *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:501 #464; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 44:173 #26550; *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah,* 2:685 #1170, 2:782 #1392.

[1436] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, Sulamī ed., *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:496 #453; *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 6:190 (Dār Ṣādir ed.).

[1437] Q, al-Zumar, 39:46.

[1438] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, Sulamī ed., *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:496 #454.

[1439] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, Sulamī ed., *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:497 #456; Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʃam al-kabīr*, 3:173 #2738.

[1440] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, Sulamī ed., *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:498 #457.

They did not return his greeting." (They did not say, 'Peace be upon you.')[1441] Abū Ishāq al-Sabīʿī said: "Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan did not pray with us. After the prayer, he would come and perform his prayer. Afterward, he would pray: 'O, God, forgive me, for I am a generous man. I was not born by ignoble people.' I said to him: 'When you rushed to kill the son of the Messenger of God ﷺ, you had a very bad opinion.' He replied: 'O, Abū Ishāq, leave this. If we had been like what you and your companions say, we would have been worse than the donkeys who carry water'." [1442] Mughīrah said: "The son of Marjānah, 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, to him: 'O, wicked one, you killed the son of the Messenger of God ﷺ. You will never see Heaven'."[1443]

Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, from his father Muḥammad al-Bāqir, narrated from his father ʿAlī, who said: "We were sent from Kūfah to Yazīd, the son of Muʿāwiyah. The streets of Kūfah were filled with weeping people. Due to the crowd, we could not pass through the crowd until much of the night had passed. I said: 'They are the ones who killed us, and now they are crying'." [1444]

Evaluation of the Event of Ḥusayn's Martyrdom: Although Yazīd did not directly order ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād to kill Ḥusayn, he certainly played a significant role in Ḥusayn's martyrdom. We have already mentioned the letter Yazīd sent to ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād. Yazīd was not a person who possessed the qualities necessary to be a caliph. His mother was Mayṣūn, the daughter of Baḥdal from the Kalb tribe. This Christian tribe lived in the region south of the city of Tadmur (Palmyra). There is a dispute regarding whether his mother converted to Islam. While Mayṣūn was pregnant with Yazīd, Muʿāwīyah divorced her. Yazīd was born among his Christian uncles and spent part of his childhood and youth with this tribe. Since they were Bedouins, they lived in tents, migrating within their own tribes. Due to the customs and upbringing of this tribe, there are narrations indicating that Yazīd consumed alcohol. The military unit that Yazīd sent to Madīnah committed an injustice that became known in history as the "Ḥarrah

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[1441] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, Sulamī ed., *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:498 #458.

[1442] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, Sulamī ed., *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:499 #459; entry of "Dhī al-Jawshan al-Dabbābī:" Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 10:455 #272.

[1443] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, Sulamī ed., *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:500 #461.

[1444] Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, Sulamī ed., *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrá*, 1:501 #463.

Incident." [It proves his intention to eliminate Ḥusayn three years earlier, that it was no 'accident' as he tried to claim. His leadership during the incidents at Karbalā', Ḥarrah, and his fire-bombing the holy Kaʿbah in Makkah, all show his complete disregard for Islamic values.] It was as tragic and instructive as the "Karbalā' Incident."

THE *ḤARRAH* CASE IN SUMMARY

Summary of the Ḥarrah Incident: This event took place in the 63rd year of the Islamic calendar. The cause was as follows: Upon learning that Yazīd, the son of Muʿāwīyah, was a corrupt man, the people of Madīnah broke their oath of allegiance to him and deposed him. The heads of the Anṣār appointed ʿAbd Allāh, the son of Ḥanẓalah ibn Abī ʿĀmir, while the Muhājirīn appointed ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muṭīʿ al-ʿAdawī as their leader. In response, Yazīd sent a large army to Madīnah under the command of Muslim ibn ʿUqbah al-Murrī. This army fought the people of Madīnah and defeated them. For three days, the soldiers were allowed to kill and plunder the property of the people of Madīnah. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥanẓalah was killed. About seven hundred prominent Muslims from the Muhājirūn and Anṣār, and up to ten thousand people, both free and enslaved, were killed. When Anas ibn Mālik, who was living in Baṣrah at the time, heard about this, he was deeply saddened. [1445]

The ḥadīth scholar Ibn Ḥibbān summarized the Ḥarrah Incident as follows: The Ḥarrah incident took place shortly before the end of Dhul-Ḥijjah in the 63rd year of the hijrah. Muslim ibn ʿUqbah, who had been sent to Madīnah to obtain Yazīd's pledge of allegiance, killed many of the descendants of the Muhājirūn and Anṣār. His soldiers were permitted to kill and loot for three days. This event became known as the Ḥarrah Incident. Yazīd died in the 64th year of the hijrah, at the age of thirty-eight. [1446]

Al-Dhahabī's Account of Yazīd: Al-Dhahabī wrote: Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Mismaʿ said: Yazīd became drunk, got up, and started playing. He fell, striking his head. His head was split open, and his brain was visible. He died from this fall. Al-Dhahabī remarked: I say that Yazīd was strong, courageous, farsighted, intelligent, insightful, and eloquent. He had good qualities in poetry. He was a Nāṣibī (one who harbors hatred against ʿAlī and his family). He was rude, uncivilized, and harsh. He would drink intoxicating substances and engage in inappropriate behaviors. His rule began with the martyrdom of Ḥusayn

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[1445] Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, 8:651; Abū al-Faraj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam fī tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, 6:16; ʿAlī ibn Abī al-Karam Muḥammad ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī, *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, 3:216, 219; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, 8:651.

[1446] Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *al-Thiqāt*, 2:314.

and ended with the Ḥarrah Incident. The people hated him, and his life was not blessed. Many, apart from Ḥusayn, rebelled against him. Among them were: the people of Madīnah, who rose up for the sake of God; Midrās ibn ʿUdayyah al-Ḥanẓalī, al-Baṣrī, Nāfiʿ ibn al-Azraq, Ṭawwāf ibn Muʿallá al-Saddūsī, and in Makkah, ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr. [1447]

Ibn Taghrībirdī's Account in *Mawrid al-laṭāfah*: Ibn Taghribirdi mentions in his book *Mawrid al-laṭāfah* that Yazīd was a sinful, weak in religious practice, and shameless individual. He was not qualified to be a caliph. He supported the killing of Ḥusayn.[1448]

However, the following issue deeply concerns me. There is a famous saying: "Look at the magician's hands, while the trick is being done elsewhere." When they talk about Muʿāwīyah and Yazīd, they distract people from the real perpetrators and killers. Yazīd did not directly give the order to kill Ḥusayn to ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād. ʿUbayd Allāh was the governor of Kūfah, and he himself took the initiative and became the main actor in this heinous crime. The commander of the army that carried out this atrocity was ʿUmar, the son of Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ. ʿUbayd Allāh sent a force of four thousand soldiers to confront a group of about seventy individuals. The criminals who carried out this act were, a few years prior, soldiers of ʿAlī and Ḥasan. Now, they competed with each other to kill Ḥusayn. When we investigated this matter to write this book, we came across two groups of people, the majority being of Yemeni descent, and a few from the tribes of Najd.

The first group consisted mainly of religious leaders, Qurʾān memorizers, zealots, and those who misunderstood Islam, interpreting it in an extreme and harsh way. Some of them were even among the Companions. The second group consisted of individuals influenced by the first, who were inclined to violence, lacked the fear of God, and sought worldly gains. They were capable of committing any crime, lacked a conscience, and did not abandon their Bedouin mentality. These individuals were present at the beginning, middle, and end of the *fitnah* (civil strife). We believe that the majority of these people, being from the Yemeni tribes, were religious but misunderstood and

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[1447] Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 4:37; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *al-Thiqāt*, 2:314.

[1448] Yūsuf ibn Taghrībirdī, *Mawārid al-laṭāfah fī man waliya al-salṭānah wa-al-khilāfah*, 1:66.

misinterpreted Islam. They were the ones who instigated the *fitnah*. These were the people who killed ʿUthmān. They pressured the people of Madīnah to pledge allegiance to ʿAlī. The battles of the Camel and Ṣiffīn occurred under their influence. During the trick of raising the Qur'ān pages [when Muʿāwiyah's army was about to lose to ʿAlī], it was these same people who fell for the trick and said, "We do not fight with the Qur'ān." They were also the ones who insisted on the arbitration, against ʿAlī's command. They opposed ʿAlī's decision to appoint ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās as an arbitrator. They insisted on appointing Abū Mūsá al-Ashʿarī, who was similarly from Yemen and had not pledged allegiance to ʿAlī. The first thing that Abū Mūsá did was to try to depose ʿAlī.

Some among them viewed the arbitration process as an act of disbelief. They declared ʿAlī, Muʿāwīyah, and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ to be disbelievers, claiming that they should be killed. Ultimately, they killed ʿAlī. In summary, they killed ʿUthmān, forced the people of Madīnah to pledge allegiance to ʿAlī, and later declared him a *kāfir* (disbeliever) and killed him. After pledging allegiance to Ḥasan, they made multiple attempts on his life. They persistently invited Ḥusayn to Iraq, but once he arrived, they not only failed to support him, but were the very ones who killed him.

The lesson here is that, while nobody talks about these individuals, everyone points the finger at Yazīd for the death of Ḥusayn. The ones who directly killed Ḥusayn and were involved in this crime were supporters and soldiers of ʿAlī, and they were among those who had committed similar actions against ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, and Ḥasan.

Some might expect us to speak harshly or curse those who caused the martyrdom of ʿAlī, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn. However, we have refrained from doing so. We believe that our Lord, who is the most powerful and the best of judges, will bring the criminals, traitors, and hypocrites to account. The punishment that He will deliver is far greater than our curses or harsh words.

﴿ وَأُفَوِّضُ أَمْرِي إِلَى اللَّهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ بَصِيرٌ بِالْعِبَادِ ﴾

"I entrust my matter to God.
Surely, God is the All-Seeing of His servants."[1449]
(Q. al-Ghāfir, 40:44).

[1449] Q. al-Ghāfir, 40:44.

GLOSSARY OF ḤADĪTH TERMINOLOGY

Athar: The sayings, actions, and approvals attributed to the Companions (Aṣḥāb) and the Followers (Tābiʿūn).

Ḍaʿīf: A weak ḥadīth that fails to meet the required conditions for authenticity in the same way as *Saḥīḥ* or *Ḥasan* ḥadīths.

Gharīb: A ḥadīth that is narrated by a single narrator, with no other narrator transmitting it. It is also called *fard* (unique). A ḥadīth being *gharīb* does not necessarily imply it is weak.

Ḥadīth: A saying, action, or approval attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ.

Ḥasan: A ḥadīth that meets five of the conditions for soundness but has a slightly weak narrator with minor deficiencies in their memory.

Jarḥ wa Taʿdīl: The science that examines whether the individuals narrating ḥadīths are qualified to do so (also referred to as *naqd al-rijāl*). It involves methods, principles, and terms developed by ḥadīth scholars to assess the qualification of narrators based on their reliability and integrity.

Khabar: A term used for sayings, actions, or approvals attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ, his companions (Aṣḥāb), and the Followers (Tābiʿūn).

Al-Kutub al-Sittah: The "Six Books" of ḥadīth, which are: *Saḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, *Saḥīḥ Muslim*, *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, *Sunan al-Nasāʾī*, and *Sunan Ibn Mājah*.

Maqṭūʿ: A ḥadīth attributed to the Followers (Tābiʿūn).

Marfūʿ: A ḥadīth that is attributed directly to the Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ.

Mawḍūʿ: A fabricated ḥadīth that was falsely attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ. A ḥadīth is considered *mawḍūʿ* if one of its narrators is found to be a liar, but not necessarily if it is narrated through different chains.

Mawqūf: A ḥadīth attributed to the Companions (Aṣḥāb).

Munkar: A ḥadīth narrated by a weak narrator who contradicts the narrations of reliable narrators. It is similar to a *shādhdh* (odd, anomalous) ḥadīth, but in munkar, the narrator is weak, whereas in *shādhdh*, the narrator is reliable.

Mursal: A ḥadīth where a Follower (Tābiʿī) directly narrates from the Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ, without mentioning the Companion who is the intermediary.

Musnad: A collection of ḥadīths arranged according to the names of the Companions (Aṣḥāb). A ḥadīth with an explicitly mentioned chain of narrators is also called *musnad*.

Mutawātir: A ḥadīth narrated by such a large group of people that it is impossible to be so widely agreed upon and be a lie. According to later scholars, each chain of transmission must contain at least ten narrators.

Muttafaq ʿalayh: A ḥadīth that both the *Saḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī and the *Saḥīḥ* of Muslim agree upon as authentic.

Muttaṣil: A ḥadīth in which there is no interruption in the chain of narrators.

Rāwī: A person who narrates a ḥadīth.

Ṣaḥīḥ: A sound ḥadīth that fulfills five conditions: 1) The chain of narrators is uninterrupted. 2) The narrators are trustworthy (*ʿadālah*). 3) The narrators have strong memory or precision (ḍabṭ). 4) The ḥadīth is not subject to defects (*ʿillah*). 5) The ḥadīth is not odd or anomalous (*shādhdh*).

Sanad or *Isnād*: The chain of narrators of a ḥadīth.

Shādhdh: A ḥadīth where a reliable narrator contradicts another more reliable narrator or a group of narrators. This contradiction can occur in the chain of narrators or the text of the ḥadīth itself.

Sunan: Books that contain ḥadīths related to acts of worship and transactions.

Sunnah: Books that contain ḥadīths related to creed and theology.

Takhrīj: The process of verifying the source of a ḥadīth to ensure its authenticity.

Tark: A ḥadīth that is abandoned due to reasons such as lying or dishonesty by a narrator. A narrator accused of lying is referred to as *Kadhdhāb* (liar).

Thiqah: A trustworthy narrator, who is reliable in both memory and integrity.

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ALI J. HUSSAIN received his Ph.D. from the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at the University of Chicago. He is a Fulbright fellow and has studied Arabic language at the University of Damascus. Having taught at colleges and universities throughout the midwestern United States and Canada, he has retired from academia, but continues to research and publish in areas of his specialty.

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